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The Leader.

"The one Idea which History exhibits as evermore developing itself into greater distinctness is the Idea of Humanity—the noble endeavour to throw down all the barriers erected between men by prejudice and one-sided views: and by setting aside the distinctions of Religion, Country, and Colour, to treat the whole Human race as one brotherhood, having one great object—the free development of our spiritual nature."—*Humboldt's Cosmos.*

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SATURDAY, MARCH 25, 1854.

[PRICE SIXPENCE.]

News of the Week.

THE war movement is settling down into a regular course, in the development of hostile relations between the Western Powers and Russia, and in the development of the neutral policy in Germany. Sir Charles Napier has arrived, not only at Wingo Sound, but at Copenhagen; and daily reports from the North lead to the hourly expectation of hearing that the English and French fleets have entered the closed sea—the larger ships through the Great Belt, and the others by the Sound, where the depth of water is not sufficient to admit ships of great size. The British navy, therefore, has taken up ground in the North, as it had already in the South. The French and English forces are gradually mustering in Turkey; and, in short, the course already mapped out is steadily followed up by France and England.

The refusal of the Emperor Nicholas to treat on the basis offered him as a final chance by France and England was so thoroughly expected, that the arrival is scarcely regarded as news; and it may be said to make no difference in the progress of events. It was a form, interesting only at the very moment of ascertaining the fact. Nicholas will not surrender his right of being conquered.

The publication of the secret correspondence, however, does make a considerable difference in the estimate of Russia, not only in England, but throughout Europe; and it must strengthen those Powers which are bent on resisting the general disturber. We have dealt with this subject in a separate paper; suffice it to observe here, that the conversations which the Emperor Nicholas had with Sir Hamilton Seymour, and his own memoranda in 1844 and '53, prove him to have been systematically endeavouring, by false pretences, to keep England from interfering with him in Turkey; while he was endeavouring also to create a belief that he had already taken complete possession of the Austrian councils, and that France was a power to be resisted and despised. Subsequently he made the same base and fraudulent approaches towards the French Emperor. In short, he was trying to set the Powers of Europe against each other, in order to secure a clear field for his own intrigues and encroachments. His summary mention of Austria as ruled by his council,—his contemptuous silence about Prussia,—his still more con-

temptuous, discourteous, and low-minded mention of France, cannot fail to create feelings of national resentment besides the general sense of distrust. France at present possesses no adequate means of national expression; but by all the signs which the public can command for its utterance,—by the conversation of its leading men, by the general success of the subscription loan, by the demeanour of its Senate and Legislative Body, it is evident that the people is beginning to arouse itself, and to go heartily with its Government in a war to put down the enemy of Europe.

The position of Prussia becomes daily more equivocal. Baron Manteuffel has been explaining to the two Chambers the course which Government has chosen. He rests that course entirely on the interests of "Germany." Germany, he says, must not be forced into any action against her spontaneous will. She does not mean at present to do more than to defend her neutrality; and for that passive action he asks the Chambers to authorise a loan of 30,000,000 thalers! It is felt in Berlin, as well as elsewhere, that this explanation is in the last degree unsatisfactory—that in fact it tells nothing. In this country and in France, it is observed that Austria would have taken a more passive course—a course dictated by European interests, if Prussia had not hindered her. The suspicion is strengthened that in this new course Prussia is actuated by jealousy of Austria; that her object is to take that course which Austria does not take; that if Austria had been localized in her councils, Prussia would have vaunted of European objects, and would have ranked herself the leader of Germany in alliance with the West. In that case Prussia would have had all the prestige and advantage to be derived from a superior connexion with the Western Powers. As Austria has anticipated that course, Prussia chooses the German ground; and thus, while hindering Austria in more active co-operation with the Western Powers, Prussia presents herself to Germany as the court which is still to be the leader for German objects, reviving, through the prospect of the war, the fancies of German Empire which haunted the brain of the King when it went Berlin wool-gathering in 1848. It does not matter: King Frederick William will not dictate the disposition of Europe—he will be dictated to; and his dreaming of some pitiful advantage to be filched out of the troubles of his neighbours will probably end in giving him

more powerful rivals than those whom he envies already.

A great deal is being said in certain quarters about the bad faith of Austria, and certainly there is such a thing in the world. Austrian bad faith is constitutional; it is the only Austrian constitution that we ever heard of. But we may ask, is there any danger of the British people becoming enamoured of our "ancient ally"? Not the least. Spread suspicion of Austria as much as you will, you cannot make Austria a whit more suspected than she is. Who trusts her? At least neither the British, the French, nor the Prussian people. The fact is Austria goes with the stronger. Whatever the British nation heartily wills she should do, that Austria must do—or oppose us; which would also have its advantages. But will suspicion of Austria cure the radical defect of the British nation at the present moment—namely, that of not willing anything very strongly? Change the weakness, the timidity, the so-called "moderation," the profit-and-loss policy, into boldness, energy, high national purpose, and unyielding resolution; and then England may do something more than look to the balances in the Exchequer, the bullion at the Bank, the net exports and imports, and Manchester no-politics. Suspicion is not and never was the soul of a policy. Prudence, daring, resolution, and promptitude,—these are the constituents of a true national policy.

The *Monthly Record* of the Society of the Friends of Italy deserves especial attention this month of March, because it may undoubtedly be taken as the exponent of the Italian Unitarian party. Austria, it asserts, is by necessity Russian; it characterises our "alliance" with Austria as a subterfuge; and insinuates doubts as to her good faith in proposing to take possession of Bosnia and Servia "for Turkey." This brochure, and a letter by M. Manin to *La Presse*, in reply to Lord John Russell, declaring that the Italians want, not the reform of Austria, but her absolute abandonment of Italy, scarcely leave much hope of protracted patience in the Peninsula and its patriot leaders.

At the present time there are few subjects which have excited so keen an interest in our own Parliamentary proceedings as the conversation on a fraud attempted by a hay-contractor. This fraud was exposed in the *Morning Chronicle* a few days since. It had been discovered that hay packed for the use of the cavalry in Turkey had been damped to increase the weight, and that rubbish was introduced into the centre, in one there was a dead lamb. It is satisfactory to observe the universal burst of indignation at the conduct of the person who is thus guilty of treachery to his country for the sake of lucre—"filthy lucre" Lord Ellenborough called it; and it is, in-

deed, the filthiest, vilest which man can hunger for in these days. Evidently a more generous, national spirit is awakening, to correct these trading enormities. The fraud was discovered through the vigilance of the Government officials, a most gratifying circumstance. The detection will satisfy those officials that their vigilance is not unneeded; and it is probable that this case, timely discovered, will prevent many others affecting the food not only of horses, but of men, and the supplies for our troops generally. Amongst many official improvements, it is agreeable to notice an ingenious and efficient form of waggon hospitals for the sick. In short, the officials, like the soldiers and the country at large, are throwing their heart into the work.

Mr. Gladstone's Income-tax resolution has passed its critical stages, with curious conduct on the part of the Opposition. Sir Henry Willoughby was to have resisted it in Committee, on Monday, with an amendment, omitting certain words, so as to make the increase apply to the whole, and not to the first six months, of the financial year. But he entered the House while the members were laughing at the carrying of the resolution during his laggard absence from his post. He behaved better on Tuesday night, when he did appear to move his amendment; but the leader of his own party backed him in the most extraordinary manner,—with an immense speech, to prove Mr. Gladstone incompetent, even to a degree of treacherously sacrificing the interests of the country on the opening of a war, and ending in an express request that Sir Henry Willoughby should withdraw the amendment, lest he should "embarrass the Minister!" Mr. Disraeli's speech is a tissue of fallacies and of false ideas suggested by deliberately partial statements so remarkable as to have created wonder in the many who admire his talents—a class far more numerous than those who sustain his eccentric course in Parliament. For example, in order to make up a case against Mr. Gladstone, he enumerates as evidence a string of phenomena in the financial history of the country, including the rise of interest on Exchequer-bills, the outflow of gold from the Bank, and other circumstances belonging far more to the expansion of commerce than to any proceedings of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, or even in the Bank of England. The Exchequer and Bank proceedings did not govern the course of monetary vicissitudes, but were themselves governed by that course. Mr. Disraeli had taken a few facts, and had altered their relation to each other,—as completely as Sir Walter Scott altered the chronology of England, when he made the Countess of Derby alive and active after she was in the grave; and all, for the purpose of getting up the cheers of the House against Mr. Gladstone for the moment. The case almost excites a suspicion that the adversity of being in opposition has afflicted Mr. Disraeli with a monomania. He sees in Ministers nothing but conspirators and traitors. One walk of art is yet open to him; and as his performances in the House of Commons are beginning to decline in popular effect, it may be worth his while to consider the propriety of making his appeal to a British public through the forcible medium of the drama. The "Coalition War" might be dressed up into a melodrama for the Adelphi, with Webster as the "Jesuit Aberdeen, agent for Russia," O. Smith as "Gladstone, the Owner of the Dark Secret," Mr. Keeley as "Lord Grey, a virtuous patrician," and Madame Celeste as "Lord John Russell, the Lost Patriot."

The Attorney-General has made some improvement on the usual course of anti-bribery measures, by introducing bills to disfranchise, not entire boroughs, but the electors convicted of bribery before committees—in brief, taking away from the persons who abuse the "trust" of the franchise the right of using that trust. One operation of this bill will be to weed out the disposable balance in many boroughs. This is fair enough, while the franchise is a monopoly; but we cannot heartily approve of reforms by disfranchisement. It would be far better to let the country be actually, instead of "virtually" represented, and then these miserable bribers could not return so large a proportion of the House of Commons: they would be swamped in the true constituency.

The debate on Mr. R. Phillimore's Simony Law Amendment Bill is disastrous for the moral aspect of the Commons. The bill proposed to do something towards removing the shocking stain upon the Church of England in the sale of its sacred offices. It was resisted by some members of the Church on the score that it would disturb pro-

perty; by low Churchmen, on the score that it might lead to Convocation; and by Dissenters, on the score that it would increase the efficiency of the Church. So powerful is the influence of sect, that it makes men sustain injustice in the hope of injuring an opponent! So powerful are the rights of property, that men in the Legislature, before the eyes of their country, professing belief in the Church, will positively sacrifice its sacred office to the golden calf!

The committee on the Irish scandals debated with closed doors yesterday. What about?—was the general question. The supposition was, that the committee was debating the position into which it had been put by Mr. Mowbray Morris, who was brought before it as manager of the *Times*, to account for the article in that paper which furnished the technical pretext of Mr. Butt's motion in appointing the committee. Mr. Morris appeared on Tuesday, and again on Wednesday; and on the latter day the cross-questioning grew fast and furious. Members seemed to think that they had a capital opportunity of learning the way they do their business in the *Times* office; but Mr. Morris put them off with answers which cleverly turned the questions against the questioners—silly questions that had no point to pierce the polished armour of his self-possession, but which cut the hands of the questioners and made them look foolish.

Preston has been visited by a new form of attack from the masters. When the London police were established, we remember seeing on the first day a policeman, in a condition of triumphant joviality, dragging a youth to the station-house. Being intoxicated with brief authority and something more, the policeman had indulged himself in provoking a fight, and, getting the worst of it, he remembered his official resources, and took up his antagonist for breaking the peace! The policeman typifies the masters; they have merged the master in the magistrate, and have taken up five leading men of the operatives' committee, on a charge of conspiring to undo what the masters have conspired to do—to take away the hands whom the masters have imported. The stroke is doubly infamous—it is malignant, and it is silly.

PARLIAMENT OF THE WEEK.

WAYS AND MEANS.

THE income-tax resolution was moved in a committee of the whole House on Monday, and agreed to without opposition, amid great laughter. To explain this it is necessary to observe that the motion for going into committee on Ways and Means, stood first on the orders of the day. But Mr. Layard had a notice on the Eastern question which, however, he withdrew. Calculating, probably, that some time would be occupied by Mr. Layard, Sir HENRY WILLOUGHBY, who had a notice of an amendment on the paper, did not enter the House in time, and thus the resolution was agreed to unopposed.

The next day Sir HENRY WILLOUGHBY moved his amendment; and a dull and desultory debate ensued upon every topic but the amendment. Mr. THOMPSON HANKEY lectured Mr. Gladstone on the impropriety of keeping low balances; the inconvenience of borrowing from the Bank; and the false step taken last spring in reducing the interest on Exchequer-bills. Mr. WILLIAMS defended the Government. Mr. SPOONER talked Birmingham currency doctrine, in which he was subsequently followed by Mr. CATLEY. Mr. HUME, concurring in the denunciation of the Bank Act of 1844, defended Mr. Gladstone's financial policy, and curtly treated of the amendment as wholly unimportant. Mr. WILKINSON and Mr. MALINS commented on the financial subject in general—the latter directing his remarks against the Bank Act of 1844. Sir FRANCIS BARING was in favour of keeping up balances; supported the income-tax as a war tax; and the increase of it as the least interference with trade. Sir FITZROY KELLY repeated what he has said so many times about the conversion scheme of last year, and gave utterance to Mr. Disraeli's opinions on the balances and the Exchequer-bills. Mr. GRACH defended Ministers.

At this stage of the debate Mr. DISRAELI rose to make a "great" speech against Mr. Gladstone. He spoke for two hours and a half, going over a variety of topics, repeating himself more than once, and dealing out sarcasms, not, however, with his usual felicity, although with instinctive affluence.

At the opening of his laboured oration he ostentatiously guarded himself from approving of the financial propositions before the House, on the ground that he did not know whether, or for what, we are going to war. When, a fortnight ago, the House agreed to support Ministers, they did so on the faith of the explanations of foreign policy contained in

documents laid before them to delude the House; but within forty-eight hours another set of documents had been placed on the table giving a new aspect to circumstances. He could not approve of increased taxation without a clear case of necessity—and that necessity had yet to be made out.

Repeating much of what he had said in a previous debate about the imprudence of small balances, Mr. Disraeli took incredible pains to show that he had been quite right in saying that consols had fallen one and a half soon after Lord Derby left office. He brought charges over and over again against Mr. Gladstone for meeting him with unseemly and discourteous taunts, and losing his temper because Mr. Disraeli referred to the low balances in the Exchequer. Ripping up the old conversion scheme once more, he insisted that Mr. Gladstone had had ample warnings—beside the fall of consols, the rate of discount rose, there was a prospect of a bad harvest, there was over-trading, there was efflux of gold—all should have made even a daring young Minister of Finance, full of genius and energy, hesitate before he tampered with the funded and unfunded debt.

Nor were these all the warnings. Did Mr. Gladstone read or did he not read those secret despatches which had been brought to light? Was he acquainted with that "dark secret," the proposed partition of the Turkish empire? If he did not read them he was unworthy of confidence; if he did, what a marvellous conception was that of dealing with the debt in the face of a bad harvest and a prospective war! Then this great finance Minister proposed to raise all the supplies for the war within the year. What would be the result? He would have to come down and ask for a tremendous loan. [Somebody twice cried "divide," a most unprecedented thing in Mr. Disraeli's latter career.]

Mr. Disraeli towards the close of his speech gave his reasons why he did not propose a vote of want of confidence—and strange reasons they are! Ministers, he argued, have no confidence in each other; and by taking portions of speeches he tried to make out that on the Turkish question they were all divided. He then went on—and this may be taken as a specimen of the style of treatment to which he subjected the question:—

"I would like to know how the war is to be carried on with efficiency and success by men who have not settled what the object of the war is. The war has been brought about by two opposite opinions in the Cabinet. (Cheers.) That has led to all the vacillation, all the perplexity, all the fitfulness, all the timidity, and all the occasional violence that have occurred. (Cheers.) If the noble lord the leader of the House—I speak my solemn conviction—had remained Minister of this country—if the noble lord the Secretary of State, who is not here, had been Minister of this country—if Lord Derby had continued Minister of this country—say, if Lord Aberdeen—I wish to state the case fairly—had been Minister of this country, with a sympathising Cabinet, there would have been no war. It is a coalition war. (Cheers.) Rival opinions, contrary politics, and discordant systems have produced that vacillation and perplexity, that at last you are going to war with an opponent who does not want to fight, and you are unwilling to encounter him. (Cheers.) Was a mess for a great country. (Cheers and laughter.) And this brought about by the splendid administrative talents of the gentlemen opposite. (Cheers.) What, sir, is your interest on Exchequer-bills, or your loss of some 35,000, compared to that? The financial *fauz pas* of the Chancellor of the Exchequer may soon be forgotten, and even forgiven. What is the value of his conversion scheme compared to this duplication of the income-tax, and to this terrible prospect of war, brought about by the combination of geniuses opposite me, and brought about absolutely by the amount of their talents and the discordancy of their opinions?" (Cheers and laughter.)

On reform, on education, even on the question of the Universities, they were not harmonious. When they had confidence in themselves, then he would propose a want of confidence in them! He advised the withdrawal of the amendment.

Mr. GLADSTONE denied that he had treated Mr. Disraeli with discourtesy, remarking that the latter was not the man of all others who was most sparing of the use of freedom in debate. And why, instead of rising, as any other man would have done, and complaining at once, had he nursed his grievance for a fortnight, to make it the subject of declamatory periods?

"The right honourable gentleman says her Majesty's Government differ upon every vital question—they differ about the Reform Bill—they differ about the Protestant dissenters—they differ about the Protestant cause—they differ about their foreign policy—they differ, in short, about every question of interest. The head of the Government, he says, has no confidence in the leader of the House of Commons—the leader of the House of Commons has no confidence in the head of the Government—the Chancellor of the Exchequer has no confidence in any of his colleagues, and none of his colleagues have any confidence in him—(laughter)—and that being the state of the case, and we, miserable and unworthy men, being here usurping the functions and spicing the character of a Government—('hear, hear, hear,' from Colonel Sibthorp, followed by general laughter)—the right honourable gentleman says, for these reasons, because you are so miserable, because you are so disunited, because you are so degraded, I will at this great crisis of the fortunes of England leave you in place, where you are to govern the destinies of the country. (Cheers.) Why, sir, I tell the right honourable gentleman that, if I possessed his great powers of mind and oratory, I would rather have been silent

altogether on such a subject, than, after having made such an argument, have conducted it to such a recreant conclusion. (*Loud cheers.*)

He then applied himself to the principal points in Mr. Disraeli's speech; and, in regard to the financial operations, remarked upon those who were willing to be retrospectively wise, with all the circumstances before them, but who had shown no such wisdom at an earlier period, and he demanded whether he was to be held responsible for the circumstances that rendered it necessary to raise the interest on Exchequer-bills in autumn. He contended that he was perfectly justified in trying the course which he had taken, and nothing but the want of permanence in the position in which Mr. Disraeli had found himself when in office could have excused his not having taken the same course as to the reduction of interest. Further vindicating himself by a reference to the present state of the money market in France, and by showing that the tremendous losses in deficiency bills alluded to by Mr. Disraeli really amounted to some few hundreds only, he made an ironical allusion to the small effect that gentleman's solemn denunciations produced upon the public mind. As regarded the reduction of the debt, he reminded the House that when he proposed it, both Mr. Disraeli and his brother in finance, Sir F. Kelly, had censured him, not for doing much, but for propounding so insignificant a scheme. As for Sir Henry Willoughby's amendment, Mr. Gladstone had imitated everybody else in saying little or nothing about it. It was impossible to accede to it. He trusted the House, on prudential, moral, and economical considerations, would adhere to the last to the wise course of raising the supplies within the year, and he would promise on the part of Government that they also would adhere to it.

Sir Henry Willoughby withdrew his amendment, and the report was agreed to.

FREEDOM FOR THE COLONIAL CHURCH.

The bill of the SOLICITOR-GENERAL, removing the disabilities which fetter the clergy of the Church of England in the colonies in the management of their affairs, stood for second reading on Monday. When the order of the day was read, Mr. HADFIELD, on the ground that it would interfere with religious liberty in the colonies, moved that the bill be read a second time that day six months; and he was seconded by Mr. PELLATT. Upon this there arose a debate. The opponents of the bill were of two kinds; those who, like the mover of the amendment, objected because they saw something terrible to liberty in the proposition; and those who, like Mr. THOMAS CHAMBERS, argued that if the Colonial Church is free, the bill is unnecessary, and if not free, then it should not be liberated. There was also another class who looked with suspicion on the bill. Sir JOHN PAKINGTON, admitting the necessity of the measure, yet saw in it, as it stood, dangers to the supremacy of the Crown and the unity of the Church; and willing to agree to the second reading, gave notice of amendments. Sir GEORGE GREY asked what would be the legal effect of the bill. This was explained by the SOLICITOR-GENERAL.

"At an early part of the reformation, in the time of Henry VIII, it appeared right to the Parliament and the country, under the influence of that monarch, to vest in the Crown the absolute power of prohibiting any meetings whatever of the clergy, and a statute was passed for that purpose. It was thereby rendered unsafe for the clergy to meet in any form or manner for the purpose of devising regulations or entering into any contract or agreement touching ecclesiastical matters, unless they had the express antecedent authority of the Crown; and if they passed any regulation or order of any kind of meeting, it could have no effect without the sanction of the Crown. Honourable members would see, therefore, that when bishops and clergy were sent to a colony, they were bound by that chain which was placed round the clergy by the laws of Henry and Elizabeth. As the statute of Elizabeth declared the supremacy of the Crown to extend to all the possessions of the Crown, as well foreign as home, it followed that the clergy in all the colonies were bound by this tie of obedience to the Crown, and were under a disability to meet, either by themselves or with the laity, to make the ordinances necessary for regulating the affairs of the Church in the colonies, either for enforcing order amongst themselves or regulating the temporalities. The relation between the bishops and the clergy in the colonies, too, was one which rendered some intervention or regulation pre-eminently necessary. The clergyman had the benefit of his stipend and the power of exercising his sacred functions only so long as he held a license from the bishop of the diocese, by an appeal to whom only could any complaint against the clergyman be tried, and who, as there were no rules to guide him in his mode of procedure or in forming a judgment, was invested with a sort of autocratic power. Another result of the present state of things, and of the absence of any law to regulate the affairs of the Church with regard to gifts made to it, and to the means of supporting the clergy, was that, while every sect of dissenters was free to come to an arrangement by which it could substitute mutual contract and agreement for such law, the Church of England alone laboured under a disability to do so; and her clergy were thus placed in a most difficult, vexatious, and unfortunate position. While such were the legal necessities for the introduction of this measure, the moral necessity was the propriety of the Church of England being in a position of equality with other religious communities—a right of which he thought that no member of that House would wish to deprive it. An honourable and learned gen-

tleman opposite had objected to the bill, that it did not define what was to be a legal meeting. To do so was not the object of this measure. The object of the measure was simply to remove an existing impediment, and the definition of a legal meeting was left to colonial regulation. In answer to the right honourable gentleman who desired him to state what would be done by the meetings, the only answer he could give was, that it would be competent for a meeting of the clergy and laity in a colony, when assembled, to do all that which it was lawful to do by agreement; and it would be unlawful for them to do anything which would in the slightest degree affect or impair the law of the land by which they were bound. They would not be able to alter the law of the land, and therefore could not affect the supremacy of the Crown, which was part of that law. For this reason, the only effect of inserting a proviso in this measure, saving the supremacy of the Crown, would be to cast doubts upon that supremacy by attempting to guard that which was in no need of protection. At the same time, it should be borne in mind by honourable members who were anxious about the preservation of the supremacy of the Crown, that the clergy and bishops in the colonies were clergy and bishops of the Established Church, and must have been ordained and consecrated as such in the manner prescribed by law, which involved an acknowledgment of the supremacy of the Crown. His answer to the question as to what would be the power of these meetings was, that they would, from this statute, have no power to make any ordinances which should directly or indirectly have the force of law, but only to make rules which should have force and effect by the contract and agreement of the parties. It was not for a moment contemplated that these meetings should have power to enforce obedience to their resolutions; but only to empower the Church of England in the colonies to regulate her affairs on the same principles as dissenting bodies regulated theirs, by substituting mutual agreement and arrangement for that law which existed here, but which it could not be expected should be established in the colonies."

After a warm defence of the principle of the bill directed by Mr. WALPOLE against those who, having liberty themselves, now desire to withhold it from others; and a defence of the Dissenting vote from Mr. MIAL, who said that the bill was required because there is a political tie between the Church of England in the colonies and at home, which the bill sought to maintain, Lord JOHN RUSSELL defended the bill, and denied Mr. Mial's assertion. The Roman Catholics and Dissenters maintain a religious connexion with their fellow believers in the colonies; why not, then, the Church of England?

On a division, the second reading was carried by 196 to 62.

ELECTORAL CORRUPTION.

In moving for leave to introduce a bill for the prevention of bribery at Canterbury, the ATTORNEY-GENERAL also stated the intentions of Government with respect to Cambridge, Barnstable, Maldon, and Hull. Going through the reports of the commissioners who had inquired into the corrupt practices at these boroughs, he found that there were 155 bribed voters at Canterbury, out of a total of 1500; 256 out of 696 at Barnstable; 75 out of 845 at Maldon; 1150 at Hull; and 111 at Cambridge. These he proposed to disfranchise. Anticipating the objection that their evidence had been given against themselves on the promise of an indemnity, he showed by citing the words of the act, that the indemnity only applied to penal consequences, not to the protection of civil rights; and he contended that, as in the teeth of an indemnity St. Albans and Sudbury had been entirely disfranchised, so it was no breach of faith to disfranchise these corrupt voters.

Upon this point the whole debate turned. Mr. PHINN, Mr. MASSEY, and Mr. KENNEDY supported the bill. Mr. CAIRNS, Sir JOHN HAMMER, Mr. NAPIER, Mr. WALPOLE, and Mr. WHITESIDE, argued that the indemnity did include protection to civil rights; besides the bill would violate the great legal maxim that a man cannot criminate himself. How would they get voters to give similar evidence on future occasions? The act said that a witness should be "free from any penal action, forfeiture, punishment, disability and incapacity" and from all criminal prosecutions "at the suit of her Majesty." But the SOLICITOR-GENERAL, who followed Mr. Whiteside, showed that he had not read the whole of the clause.

"The proper limit as to indemnity was the legal meaning of the clause, which ought to be construed so as to promote the objects of the act; for the House ought not to desire to impose fetters on itself, unless they felt compelled by principles of honour and good faith, which, of course, ought to predominate. The section in question applied to the law as it stood when the act was introduced—it applied to the person—to personal protection—to the protection of the property of the voter—it meant to protect the voter from all disabilities, forfeitures, and incapacities; but these penalties must, according to the intent of the act, and the general principles of the law, be such as would follow either conviction upon indictment at the suit of the Crown, or judgment against him on a proceeding instituted by a common informer. That was the plain, grammatical meaning of the words of the section, and they were neither grammatical nor intelligible in any other sense. But the hon. and learned gentleman stopped at the word 'incapacity.' He said he might stop where he pleased. Well, of course he might stop where he pleased, and put what construction he pleased; but when he was addressing English gentlemen conversant with the English language, he must not stop where he pleased, but where the grammatical rules of the English language declared he ought to stop. (*Loud cheers.*) The hon. gentleman having done violence towards one part of the sentence

was obliged to do another. The hon. gentleman explained one part of the clause by stopping where he pleased; but an unfortunate conjunction 'and' stood in his way, so he was obliged to jump over the hedge and rely upon antecedent words in the clause, in order to render intelligible the sentence which he had so ruthlessly disjoined. (*Laughter.*) The obviously just mode of interpreting it was to take the whole of the sentence together, and not by forcibly disjoining it give certain words a construction which they might perhaps singly endure, but which was obviously adverse to the scope and tendency of the whole, as well as to the sense and meaning of the other words with which they were connected."

Sir FITZROY KELLY, pointedly referred to by the Attorney-General, took the Opposition view of the section, declared that these voters were going to suffer a bill of pains and penalties without trial; and said the bill was a delusion and a fraud.

But the House thought with Ministers, and leave was given to bring in the bill by 189 to 118.

INFAMOUS FRAUD.

The Earl of ELLENBOROUGH begged to call the attention of the noble duke opposite to the gross misconduct of a contractor who had engaged to furnish hay to the ships now going out to the Mediterranean. The paragraph which had attracted his attention purported to be an extract of a letter from an officer on board one of her Majesty's ships, and it stated that the Government were giving 7*l.* 10*s.* a ton for hay packed in trusses, and it had turned out that a scoundrel (one of his men having split upon him) had put into the centre of the trusses all sorts of stuff—shavings and all manner of rubbish and filth—and in one of the trusses there was actually a dead lamb. All the hay had been damped, and was altogether unfit for the use of the horses, in addition to which there was the danger of spontaneous combustion arising from it. The only punishment to which the man had been subjected was the taking the contract from him. He wished to ask, first, whether the statement was correct; and secondly, whether the criminal law of the country would not reach a miscreant of that kind, who had for lucre done all he could to disappoint the expectations of the country, to inflict the greatest calamity on the horses, and prevent the artillery arriving in time?

The Duke of NEWCASTLE had not seen the paragraph which his noble friend had read to the House, but he was sorry to say that the statement was correct, in all its parts, with one single exception—namely, that the discovery had been made by one of his men splitting on him—it having, in fact, been made, as it would invariably be, by one of the officers of the Government. The circumstances were these: Upon a certain number of horses being ordered for foreign service, advertisements were inserted in the newspapers for a supply of hay; but at the expiration of the time there was only one tender, and that was for a small quantity. Letters were then addressed to several persons who were in the habit of supplying hay, to inquire what amount they would be ready to supply, and at what price; upon which answers were received from all of them, stating the quantity and the price. He was not able to inform his noble friend whether more than one of these parties had been guilty of the fraud which had been practised, but it was true that the hay, which from the exterior appeared to be excellent, was found to contain the filth and rubbish to which his noble friend referred. The hay was, of course, rejected, and great inconvenience had arisen in consequence. His noble friend had asked whether the criminal law would touch these parties? He was not prepared to answer that question, the law not being very clear upon it. He had seen the Solicitor to the Treasury upon the subject, and he had received instructions to make careful inquiries into all the circumstances. He believed the case of a contract could be established, and the Solicitor to the Treasury would submit a case to the law officers of the Crown. Upon their opinion the Government would of course determine what course they should pursue. It was a case of so flagrant a nature, that if it had not been discovered the loss of the whole of the horses at sea and the inefficiency of the whole artillery, might have been the consequence. He could assure his noble friend that the Government would deal with the parties with the utmost severity of the law.

Lord DERBY and Lord BROUGHAM hoped the law would reach the offenders; if it did not it should be altered to include such cases.

At the close of the conversation the Duke of Newcastle, who had made inquiry, said the name of the contractor is "Thomas Sturgeon and Sons, Grays, Essex."

SMONT.—Mr. R. PHILLIMORE, in moving the second reading of the Simony Law Amendment Bill, the object of which was to prevent the sale of next presentations to livings, explained the state of the law, which was allowed; he said to be most objectionable, leading indirectly, if not directly, to perjury. The act 12th Anne furnished a precedent for this bill; but the interpretation put upon that statute by the courts of law had narrowed its scope. By the existing law, laymen, but not clergymen, might purchase next presentations; neither laymen nor clergymen could purchase void livings, although both might purchase advowsons. This anomalous state of the law had given rise to evasions; it had been found that next presentations were purchased while the incumbent had only five minutes to live.

The opposition was led by Mr. GEORGE BUTT, who declared that the bill proposed an unjustifiable interference with the rights of property. Other opponents of the measure, like Sir GEORGE GREY and Mr. NAPIER, said the bishops have powers to suppress the evils complained of.

Sir WILLIAM HEATHCOTE supported the bill, and contended that the opposition to it on the ground of property was untenable. An advowson might be a subject of purchase, but a presentation was a spiritual trust.

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL opposed the measure. He did not deny the anomalous condition of the law of simony, but he did not consider that the bill was calculated to do away with the existing evils, while it would tend to place Church patronage in the hands of one class. Without removing the existing scandal and the present anomalies, the bill would introduce the mischievous principle of excluding the lay energy of the Church.

On a division, the motion was negatived by 138 to 52.

CANONICAL CANONIES.—Mr. FRANKSON has a bill before the House to appropriate the income of the next vacant canonry of Carlisle Cathedral for the purpose of augmenting the incomes of the incumbents. The canons get 700*l.* a year; the total of the income of the incumbents is only 546*l.*

MINISTERS' MONEY.—Mr. MIALl opposed the second reading of the Ministers' Money (Ireland) Bill, by moving that it be read that day six months. But he was defeated, without debate, by 203 to 97.

PAYMENT OF WAGES BILL.—This measure, introduced by Sir H. HALFORD, is intended to prevent the stoppages of the rent of "frames" used in the hosiery manufacture from the wages. On the motion for the second reading, Sir WILLIAM CLAY opposed the bill, and after a good deal of discussion the House went to a division, when the second reading was carried by 120 to 73, and the bill was referred to the Truck Committee.

GAMING.—The ATTORNEY-GENERAL obtained leave to bring in a bill to remedy the defects in the law relating to gaming-houses. The law contained, he observed, salutary provisions, and had succeeded in putting down the practice in public gaming-houses, but had hitherto proved inadequate to prevent it in private houses. Every day brought to light instances of young men of fortune who had been seduced into these houses, where they were often ruined. Penalties were imposed, and the police were empowered to enter houses; but the law was defeated, because the owners of these private establishments were enabled, by fortifying the doors, to keep out the police until all gaming implements were put out of the way (there being a ready communication with the common sewer), the time required to force an entrance being not less than half an hour. The parties found in the house, when taken before a police magistrate, were necessarily discharged, and the owners were able to re-open the house the same night and to resume their practices. The impotence of the law arose from the difficulty of obtaining evidence, which would be removed if the system of barring out the police were put an end to. He proposed therefore to make the act of barring out a substantive offence; to authorise magistrates to select from parties brought before them, some for prosecution, and others to be witnesses; and to make the giving a false name and address an offence.

THE SECRET RUSSIAN DOCUMENTS.

THE despatches of the British Minister at St. Petersburg, containing the views expressed by the Emperor of Russia at the beginning of 1853, in private and unofficial conversations, respecting what should or should not be done in the event of the downfall of Turkey, are now before the public. There is also a memorandum, drawn up and forwarded to the Foreign Office in 1844, the result, it is stated, of conversations between the Emperor of Russia and Lord Aberdeen, the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel. That document is as follows:—

(Translation.)

"Russia and England are mutually penetrated with the conviction that it is for their common interest that the Ottoman Porte should maintain itself in the state of independence and of territorial possession which at present constitutes that Empire, and that political combination is the one which is most compatible with the general interest of the maintenance of peace.

"Being agreed on this principle, Russia and England have an equal interest in uniting their efforts to keep up the existence of the Ottoman Empire, and to avert all the dangers which can place in jeopardy its safety.

"With this object the essential point is to suffer the Porte to live in repose, without needlessly disturbing it by diplomatic bickerings, and without interfering without absolute necessity in its internal affairs.

"In order to carry out skillfully this system of forbearance, with a view to the well-understood interest of the Porte, two things must not be lost sight of. They are these:—

"In the first place, the Porte has a constant tendency to extricate itself from the engagements imposed upon it by the treaties which it has concluded with other Powers. It hopes to do so with impunity, because it reckons on the mutual jealousy of the Cabinets. It thinks that if it fails in its engagements with one of them, the rest will espouse its quarrel, and will screen it from all responsibility.

"It is essential not to confirm the Porte in this delusion. Every time that it fails in its obligations towards one of the great Powers, it is the interest of all the rest to make it sensible of its error, and seriously to exhort it to act rightly towards the Cabinet which demands just reparation.

"As soon as the Porte shall perceive that it is not supported by the other Cabinets, it will give way, and the differences which have arisen will be arranged in a conciliatory manner, without any conflict resulting from them.

"There is a second cause of complication which is inherent in the situation of the Porte: it is the difficulty which exists in reconciling the respect due to the sovereign authority of the Sultan, founded on the Mussulman law, with the for-

bearance required by the interests of the Christian population of that Empire.

"This difficulty is real. In the present state of feeling in Europe, the Cabinets cannot see with indifference the Christian populations in Turkey exposed to flagrant acts of oppression and religious intolerance.

"It is necessary constantly to make the Ottoman Ministers sensible of this truth, and to persuade them that they can only reckon on the friendship and on the support of the Great Powers on the condition that they treat the Christian subjects of the Porte with toleration and with mildness.

"While insisting on this truth it will be the duty of the foreign representatives, on the other hand, to exert all their influence to maintain the Christian subjects of the Porte in submission to the sovereign authority.

"It will be the duty of the foreign representatives, guided by these principles, to act among themselves in a perfect spirit of agreement. If they address remonstrances to the Porte, those remonstrances must bear a real character of unanimity, though divested of one of exclusive dictation.

"By persevering in this system with calmness and moderation, the representatives of the great Cabinets of Europe will have the best chance of succeeding in the steps which they may take, without giving occasion for complications which might affect the tranquillity of the Ottoman Empire. If all the Great Powers frankly adopt this line of conduct, they will have a well-founded expectation of preserving the existence of Turkey.

"However, they must not conceal from themselves how many elements of dissolution that empire contains within itself. Unforeseen circumstances may hasten its fall, without its being in the power of the friendly Cabinets to prevent it.

"As it is not given to human foresight to settle beforehand a plan of action for such an unlooked-for case, it would be premature to discuss eventualities which may never be realised.

"In the uncertainty which hovers over the future, a single fundamental idea seems to admit of a really practical application; it is that the danger which may result from a catastrophe in Turkey will be much diminished, if, in the event of its occurring, Russia and England have come to an understanding as to the course to be taken by them in common.

"That understanding will be the more beneficial, inasmuch as it will have the full assent of Austria. Between her and Russia there exists already an entire conformity of principles in regard to the affairs of Turkey, in a common interest of conservatism and peace.

"In order to render their union more efficacious there would remain nothing to be desired but that England should be seen to associate herself thereto with the same view.

"The reason which recommends the establishment of this agreement is very simple.

"On land Russia exercises in regard to Turkey a preponderant action.

"On sea England occupies the same position.

"Isolated, the action of these two Powers might do much mischief. United, it can produce a real benefit; thence, the advantage of coming to a previous understanding before having recourse to action.

"This notion was in principle agreed upon during the Emperor's last residence in London. The result was the eventual engagement, that if anything unforeseen occurred in Turkey, Russia and England should previously concert together as to the course which they should pursue in common.

"The object for which Russia and England will have to come to an understanding may be expressed in the following manner:—

"1. To seek to maintain the existence of the Ottoman Empire in its present state, so long as that political combination shall be possible.

"2. If we foresee that it must crumble to pieces, to enter into previous concert as to everything relating to the establishment of a new order of things, intended to replace that which now exists, and, in conjunction with each other, to see that the change which may have occurred in the internal situation of that empire shall not injuriously affect either the security of their own States and the rights which the treaties assure to them respectively, or the maintenance of the balance of power in Europe.

"For the purpose just stated, the policy of Russia and of Austria, as we have already said, is closely united by the principle of perfect identity. If England, as the principal maritime power, acts in concert with them, it is to be supposed that France will find herself obliged to act in conformity with the course agreed upon between St. Petersburg, London, and Vienna.

"Conflict between the Great Powers being thus obviated, it is to be hoped that the peace of Europe will be maintained even in the midst of such serious circumstances. It is to secure this object of common interest, if the case occurs, that, as the Emperor agreed with her Britannic Majesty's Ministers during his residence in England, the previous understanding which Russia and England shall establish between themselves must be directed."

The "secret and confidential" despatches from Sir Hamilton Seymour date from the 11th of January, and are almost coincident with the formation of the present Ministry. Writing on that day, Sir Hamilton recounts how on the 9th he saw the Emperor at the palace of the Grand Duchess Helen; how the party had been arranged for the meeting; and how the Emperor there expressed the pleasure he felt at hearing of the formation of the Aberdeen Ministry, and his hope that it would be of long duration. He wished to be especially remembered to Lord Aberdeen. England and Russia, said the Emperor, it was intended should be on terms of amity—"when we" are agreed, it is immaterial what "others" may think or do. As to Turkey, he continued, that is another question, and may give us all a deal of trouble. Here the Imperial diplomatist broke off the conversation; but Sir Hamilton, thinking the opportunity should not be missed, gently hinted

that a few words about Turkey might calm anxiety. The despatch then continues:—

"The Emperor's words and manner, although still very kind showed that his Majesty had no intention of speaking to me of the demonstration which he is about to make in the south. He said, however, at first with a little hesitation, but as he proceeded, in an open and unhesitating manner, the affairs of Turkey are in a very disorganised condition; the country itself seems to be falling to pieces (menace ruine); the fall will be a great misfortune, and it is very important that England and Russia should come to a perfectly good understanding upon these affairs, and that neither should take any decisive step of which the other is not apprised.

"I observed in a few words, that I rejoiced to hear that his Imperial Majesty held this language; that this was certainly the view I took of the manner in which Turkish questions are to be treated.

"Tenez, the Emperor said, as if proceeding with his remark, 'tenez; nous avons sur les bras un homme malade—un homme gravement malade; ce sera, je vous le dis franchement, un grand malheur si, un de ces jours, il devait nous échapper, surtout avant que toutes les dispositions nécessaires fussent prises. Mais enfin ce n'est point le moment de vous parler de cela.'"

"It was clear that the Emperor did not intend to prolong the conversation; I therefore said, 'Votre Majesté est si gracieuse qu'elle me permettra de lui faire encore une observation. Votre Majesté dit que l'homme est malade; c'est bien vrai, mais votre Majesté daignera m'excuser si je lui fais observer, que c'est à l'homme généreux et fort de ménager l'homme malade et faible.'"

In commenting on this interview, Sir Hamilton Seymour does not fail to suggest that it is doubtful whether the understanding asked for would be acted upon, "as the Emperor's assurances were a little contradicted by the measures" he had taken. There is a curious expression in a postscript to this despatch, which may as well be noted. The Emperor spoke to the Austrian Minister of the conversation above reported.

"I told Sir Hamilton Seymour, his Majesty said, that the new Ministry appears to me to be strong, and that I am anxious for its duration—although to say the truth, as regards England, I have learned that it is the country which we must be allied. We must not lean to this or that party."

Such was the overture of this confidential intercourse. In his despatch of the 22nd January, Sir Hamilton relates a still more interesting interview, which took place on the 14th, between himself and the Emperor.

"You know, his Majesty said, the dreams and plans in which the Empress Catherine was in the habit of indulging; these were handed down to our time; but while I inherited immense territorial possessions, I did not inherit those visions, those intentions if you like to call them so. On the contrary, my country is so vast, so happily circumstanced in every way, that it would be unreasonable in me to desire more territory or more power than I possess; on the contrary, I am the first to tell you that our great, perhaps our only danger, is that which would arise from an extension given to an empire already too large.

"Close to us lies Turkey, and in our present condition, nothing better for our interests can be desired; the times have gone by when we had anything to fear from the fanatical spirit or the military enterprise of the Turks, and yet the country is strong enough, or has hitherto been strong enough, to preserve its independence, and to insure respectful treatment from other countries.

"Well, in that empire there are several millions of Christians, whose interests I am called upon to watch over (surveiller), while the right of doing so is secured to me by treaty. I may truly say that I make a moderate and sparing use of my right, and I will freely confess that it is one which is attended with obligations occasionally very inconvenient; but I cannot recede from the discharge of a distinct duty. Our religion, as established in this country, came to us from the East; and there are feelings, as well as obligations, which never must be lost sight of.

"Now Turkey, in the condition which I have described, has by degrees fallen into such a state of decrepitude that, as I told you the other night, eager as we all are for the prolonged existence of the man (and that I am as desirous as you can be for the continuance of his life, I beg you to believe), he may suddenly die upon our hands (nous rester sur les bras). We cannot resuscitate what is dead; if the Turkish empire falls, it falls to rise no more; and I put it to you, therefore, whether it is not better to be provided beforehand for a contingency, than to incur the chaos, confusion, and the certainty of an European war, all of which must attend the catastrophe if it should occur unexpectedly, and before some ulterior system has been sketched. This is the point to which I am desirous that you should call the attention of your Government."

Sir Hamilton said that Turkey had long been plunged in difficulties thought to be insurmountable. With respect to contingent arrangements, England is disinclined to them, particularly in this instance. She would feel repugnance to disposing of the succession of an old ally by anticipation.

"Maintenant je désire vous parler en ami et en gentleman; si nous arrivons à nous entendre sur cette affaire, l'Angleterre et moi, pour le reste, peu m'importe; il m'est indifférent."

"Stay: we have on our hands a sick man—a very sick man; it will be, I tell you frankly, a great misfortune if, even of these days, he should slip away from us, especially before all necessary arrangements were made. But, however, this is not the time to speak to you on that matter."

"Your Majesty is so gracious that you will allow me to make one further observation. Your Majesty says the man is sick; it is very true; but your Majesty will deign to excuse me if I remark, that it is the part of the generous and strong man to treat with gentleness the sick and feeble man."

ce que font ou pensent les autres. Usant donc de franchise, je vous dis nettement, que si l'Angleterre songe à s'établir un de ces jours à Constantinople, je ne le permettrai pas. Je ne vous prête point ces intentions, mais il vaut mieux dans ces occasions parler clairement; de mon côté, je suis également disposé de prendre l'engagement de ne pas m'y établir, en propriétaire, si l'entend, car en dépositaire je ne dis pas; il pourrait se faire que les circonstances me misent dans le cas d'occuper Constantinople, se rien ne se trouve prévu, si l'on doit tout laisser aller au hasard."

Sir Hamilton, although unprepared with a decided opinion, thought that some arrangement might be come to guarding against certain contingencies.

Passing to the events of the day, the Emperor said he must insist upon the execution of the promises of the Sultan in respect to the Holy Places; and the British Minister admitted that negotiation, followed, as he supposed it had been, by the threat of military measures, would be sufficient to secure compliance with the just demands of Russia.

"With regard to a French expedition to the Sultan's dominions, his Majesty intimated that such a step would bring affairs to an immediate crisis; that a sense of honour would compel him to send his forces into Turkey without delay or hesitation; that if the result of such an advance should prove to be the overthrow of the Great Turk (le Grand Turc), he should regret the event, but should feel that he had acted as he was compelled to do."

In reply Lord John Russell forwarded the following despatch:—

"Lord John Russell to Sir G. H. Seymour.
(Secret and confidential.)"

"Foreign office, February 9, 1853."

"Sir,—I have received, and laid before the Queen, your secret and confidential despatch of the 22nd of January."

"Her Majesty, upon this as upon former occasions, is happy to acknowledge the moderation, the frankness, and the friendly disposition of his Imperial Majesty."

"Her Majesty has directed me to reply in the same spirit of temperate, candid, and amicable discussion."

"The question raised by his Imperial Majesty is a very serious one. It is, supposing the contingency of the dissolution of the Turkish empire to be probable, or even imminent, whether it is not better to be provided beforehand for a contingency, than to incur the chaos, confusion, and the certainty of an European war, all of which must attend the catastrophe if it should occur unexpectedly, and before some ulterior system has been sketched: this is the point, said his Imperial Majesty, to which I am desirous that you should call the attention of your Government."

"In considering this grave question, the first reflection which occurs to her Majesty's Government is that no actual crisis has occurred which renders necessary a solution of this vast European problem. Disputes have arisen respecting the Holy Places, but these are without the sphere of the internal government of Turkey, and concern Russia and France rather than the Sublime Porte. Some disturbance of the relations between Austria and the Porte has been caused by the Turkish attack on Montenegro; but this, again, relates rather to dangers affecting the frontier of Austria than the authority and safety of the Sultan; so that there is no sufficient cause for intimating to the Sultan that he cannot keep peace at home, or preserve friendly relations with his neighbours."

"It occurs further to her Majesty's Government to remark, that the event which is contemplated is not definitely fixed in point of time. When William III. and Louis XIV. disposed, by treaty, of the succession of Charles II. of Spain, they were providing for an event which could not be far off. The infirmities of the Sovereign of Spain, and the certain end of any human life, made the contingency in prospect both sure and near. The death of the Spanish King was in no way hastened by the treaty of partition. The same thing may be said of the provision, made in the last century, for the disposal of Tuscany upon the decease of the last prince of the house of Medici. But the contingency of the dissolution of the Ottoman empire is of another kind. It may happen twenty, fifty, or a hundred years hence."

"In these circumstances it would hardly be consistent with the friendly feelings towards the Sultan which animate the Emperor of Russia, no less than the Queen of Great Britain, to dispose beforehand of the provinces under his dominion. Besides this consideration, however, it must be observed, that an agreement made in such a case tends very surely to hasten the contingency for which it is intended to provide. Austria and France could not, in fairness, be kept in ignorance of the transaction, nor would such concealment be consistent with the end of preventing an European war. Indeed, such concealment cannot be intended by his Imperial Majesty. It is to be inferred that, as soon as Great Britain and Russia should have agreed on the course to be pursued, and have determined to enforce it, they should communicate their intentions to the Great Powers of Europe. An agreement thus made, and thus communicated, would not be very long a secret; and while it would alarm and alienate the Sultan, the knowledge of its existence would stimulate all his enemies to increased violence and more obstinate conflict. They would fight with the conviction that they must ultimately triumph; while the Sultan's generals and troops would feel that no immediate success could save their cause from final overthrow. Thus would be produced and strengthened that very anarchy which is now feared, and the foresight of the friends of the patient would prove the cause of his death."

ened that very anarchy which is now feared, and the foresight of the friends of the patient would prove the cause of his death."

"Her Majesty's Government need scarcely enlarge on the dangers attendant on the execution of any similar convention. The example of the Succession War is enough to show how little such agreements are respected when a pressing temptation urges their violation. The position of the Emperor of Russia as depositary, but not proprietor, of Constantinople, cherished ambition of his own nation and the jealousies of Europe. The ultimate proprietor, whoever he might be, would hardly be satisfied with the inert, supine attitude of the heirs of Mahomet II. A great influence on the affairs of Constantinople, holding the gates of the Mediterranean and the Black Sea."

"That influence might be used in favour of Russia; it might be used to control and curb her power."

"His Imperial Majesty has justly and wisely said:—My country is so vast, so happily circumstanced in every way, that it would be unreasonable in me to desire more territory or more power than I possess. On the contrary, he observed, our great—perhaps our only danger—is that which would arise from an extension given to an empire already too large. A vigorous and ambitious State, replacing the Sublime Porte, might, however, render war, on the part of Russia, a necessity for the Emperor or his successors."

"This European conflict would arise from the very means taken to prevent it; for neither England nor France, nor probably Austria, would be content to see Constantinople permanently in the hands of Russia."

"On the part of Great Britain, her Majesty's Government at once declare that they renounce all intention or wish to hold Constantinople. His Imperial Majesty may be quite secure on this head. They are likewise ready to give an assurance that they will enter into no agreement to provide for the contingency of the fall of Turkey without previous communication with the Emperor of Russia."

"Upon the whole, then, her Majesty's Government are persuaded that no course of policy can be adopted more wise, more disinterested, more beneficial to Europe, than that which his Imperial Majesty has so long followed, and which will render his name more illustrious than that of the most famous Sovereigns who have sought immortality by unprovoked conquest and ephemeral glory."

"With a view to the success of this policy, it is desirable that the utmost forbearance should be manifested towards Turkey; that any demands which the Great Powers of Europe may have to make, should be made matter of friendly negotiation rather than of peremptory demand; that military and naval demonstrations to coerce the Sultan should be as much as possible avoided; that differences with respect to matters affecting Turkey, within the competence of the Sublime Porte, should be decided after mutual concert between the Great Powers, and not be forced upon the weakness of the Turkish Government."

"To these cautions her Majesty's Government wish to add that in their view it is essential that the Sultan should be advised to treat his Christian subjects in conformity with the principles of equity and religious freedom which prevail generally among the enlightened nations of Europe. The more the Turkish Government adopts the rules of impartial law and equal administration, the less will the Emperor of Russia find it necessary to apply that exceptional protection which his Imperial Majesty has found so burdensome and inconvenient, though no doubt prescribed by duty and sanctioned by treaty."

"You may read this despatch to Count Nesselrode, and, if it is desired, you may yourself place a copy of it in the hands of the Emperor. In that case you will accompany its presentation with those assurances of friendship and confidence on the part of her Majesty the Queen, which the conduct of his Imperial Majesty was so sure to inspire—
(Signed) "J. RUSSELL."

A month after, namely, on the 20th of February, Sir Hamilton Seymour met the Emperor at the Grand Duchess Hereditary's, and had a short conversation, in the course of which the Emperor pertinaciously insisted that Turkey had not the elements of existence. If he could converse with the British Ministers, with Lord Aberdeen, for instance, who knew him well, he could come to some understanding."

The next day, by appointment, Sir Hamilton Seymour waited on the Emperor, and a long colloquy ensued, based on the reading of Lord John Russell's despatch."

"Upon arriving at the fourth paragraph, the Emperor desired me to pause, and observed, that he was certainly most desirous that some understanding should be entered into with her Majesty's Government, for providing against a contingency so probable as that of the downfall of Turkey; that he was, perhaps, even more interested than England could be in preventing a Turkish catastrophe, but that it was constantly impending; that it might be brought about at any moment, either by an external war, or by a feud between the old Turkish party and that of the 'new superficial French reforms,' or again, by a rising of the Christians, already known to be very impatient of shaking off the Musulman yoke (jong). As regards the first cause, the Emperor said that he had a good right to advert to it, inasmuch as, if he had not stopped the victorious progress of General Diebitch in 1829, the Sultan's authority would have been at an end."

"I said, perhaps your Majesty would be good enough to explain your own ideas upon this negative policy. This his Majesty for some time declined doing. He ended, however, by saying: Well, there are several things which I will never tolerate. I will begin by ourselves. I will not tolerate the permanent occupation of Constantinople by the Russians. Having said this, I will say that it never shall be held by the English, or French, or any other great nation. Again, I never will permit an attempt at the reconstruction of a

Byzantine empire, or such an extension of Greece as would render her a powerful state; still less will I permit the breaking up of Turkey into little republics, asylums for the Kossuths and Mazzinis, and other revolutionists of Europe; rather than submit to any of these arrangements I would go to war, and as long as I have a man and a musket left would carry it on. These, the Emperor said, are at once some ideas; now give me some in return."

"I remarked upon the assurance which would be found respecting the English resolution of never attempting to possess Constantinople, and upon the disinclination of her Majesty's Government to enter into eventual arrangements; but upon being still pressed by his Imperial Majesty, I said, Well, sir, the idea may not suit your Majesty, may not suit her Majesty's Government, but what is good between man and man is often a good system between one State and another;—how would it be if, in the event of any catastrophe occurring in Turkey, Russia and England were to declare that no power should be allowed to take possession of its provinces—that the property should remain, as it were, under seals until amicable arrangements could be made as to its adjudication?"

"I will not say, the Emperor observed, that such a course would be impossible, but, at least, it would be very difficult; there are no elements of provincial or communal government in Turkey: you would have Turks attacking Christians, Christians falling upon Turks, Christians of different sects quarrelling with each other; in short, chaos and anarchy."

"Sir, I then observed, if your Majesty will allow me to speak plainly, I would say that the great difference between us is this: that you continue to dwell upon the fall of Turkey, and the arrangements requisite before and after the fall; and that we, on the contrary, look to Turkey remaining where she is, and to the precautions which are necessary for preventing her condition from becoming worse. Ah! replied the Emperor, that is what the Chancellor is perpetually telling me; but the catastrophe will occur some day, and will take us all unawares."

"His Imperial Majesty spoke of France. God forbid, he said, that I should accuse any one wrongfully, but there are circumstances both at Constantinople and Montenegro which are extremely suspicious; it looks very much as if the French Government were endeavouring to embroil us all in the East, hoping in this way the better to arrive at their own objects, one of which, no doubt, is the possession of Tunis."

"The Emperor proceeded to say, that for his own part he cared very little what line the French might think proper to take in Eastern affairs, and that little more than a month ago he had apprised the Sultan that if his assistance were required for resisting the menaces of the French, it was entirely at the service of the Sultan!"

"In a word, the Emperor went on to observe, As I before told you, all I want is a good understanding with England, and this is not as to what shall, but as to what shall not be done; this point arrived at, the English Government and I, and the English Government, having entire confidence in one another's views, I care nothing about the rest."

"I remarked that I felt confident that her Majesty's Government could be as little disposed as his Imperial Majesty to tolerate the presence of the French at Constantinople; and being desirous, if possible, of ascertaining whether there were any understanding between the Cabinets of St. Petersburg and Vienna, I added, But your Majesty has forgotten Austria; now all these Eastern questions affect her very nearly; she of course would expect to be consulted."

"Oh! replied the Emperor, greatly to my surprise, but you must understand that when I speak of Russia, I speak of Austria as well; what suits the one suits the other; our interests as regards Turkey are perfectly identical. I should have been glad to have made another inquiry or two upon this subject, but I did not venture to do so."

"You see how I am behaving towards the Sultan. This gentleman (ce monsieur) breaks his written word to me, and acts in a manner extremely displeasing to me, and I have contented myself with despatching an ambassador to Constantinople to demand reparation; certainly I could send an army there if I chose, there is nothing to stop them; but I have contented myself with such a show of force as will prove that I have no intention of being trifled with."

"And, sir, I said, you were quite right in refraining from violence, and I hope on future occasions you will act with the same moderation; for your Majesty must be sensible that any fresh concessions which have been obtained by the Latins are not referable to ill will towards you, but to the excessive apprehensions of the French entertained by the unfortunate Turks; besides, sir, I observed, the danger, I will venture to say, of the present moment is not Turkey, but that revolutionary spirit which broke out four years ago, and which, in many countries, still burns underground; there is the danger, and no doubt that a war in Turkey would be the signal for fresh explosions in Italy, Hungary, and elsewhere. We see what is passing at Milan."

"The Emperor went on to say that, in the event of the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire, he thought it might be less difficult to arrive at a satisfactory territorial arrangement than was commonly believed. The principalities are, he said, in fact, an independent State under my protection; this might so continue. Servia might receive the same form of government. So again with Bulgaria. There seems to be no reason why this province should not form an independent State."

"As to Egypt, I quite understand the importance to England of that territory. I can then only say, that if, in the event of a distribution of the Ottoman succession upon the fall of the Empire, you should take possession of Egypt, I shall have no objections to offer. I would say the same thing of Candia. That island might suit you, and I do not know why it should not become an English possession."

"As I did not wish that the Emperor should imagine that an English public servant was caught by this sort of overture, I simply answered, that I had always understood that the English views upon Egypt did not go beyond the point of securing a safe and ready communication between British India and the mother country."

On the 9th of March Sir Hamilton Seymour for

"Now I desire to speak to you as a friend and as a gentleman; if England and I arrive at an understanding of this different to me what others do or think. Frankly, then I tell you plainly, that if England thinks of establishing herself one of these days at Constantinople, I will not allow it. I do not attribute this intention to you, but it is better on these occasions to speak plainly; for my part, I am equally disposed to take the engagement not to establish myself there, as proprietor that is to say, for as occupier I do not provision were made, if everything should be left to chance, might place me in the position of occupying Constantinople."

wanted, the following memorandum, which Count Nesselrode had given him for his use—remarking, among other things, that it established the fact of an understanding as to Turkish affairs between the Emperor of Austria and the Emperor of Russia:—

(Translation.)

"Feb. 21, 1853.

"The Emperor has, with the liveliest interest and real satisfaction, made himself acquainted with the secret and confidential despatch which Sir Hamilton Seymour communicated to him. He duly appreciates the frankness which has dictated it. He has found therein a fresh proof of the friendly sentiments which her Majesty the Queen entertains for him.

"In conversing familiarly with the British envoy on the cases which, from one day to another, may bring on the fall of the Ottoman Empire, it had by no means entered into the Emperor's thoughts to propose for this contingency a plan by which Russia and England should dispose beforehand of the provinces ruled by the Sultan—a system altogether arranged; still less a formal agreement to be concluded between the two Cabinets. It was purely and simply the Emperor's notion that each party should confidentially state to the other, less what it wishes than what it does not wish; what would be contrary to English interests, what would be contrary to Russian interests; in order that, the case occurring, they might avoid acting in opposition to each other.

"There is in this neither plans of partition nor convention to be binding on the other Courts. It is merely an interchange of opinions, and the Emperor sees no necessity of talking about it before the time. It is precisely for that reason that he took especial care not to make it the object of an official communication from one Cabinet to another. By confining himself to speaking of it himself, in the shape of familiar conversation to the Queen's representative, he selected the most friendly and confidential form of opening himself with frankness to her Britannic Majesty, being desirous that the result, whatever it might be, of these communications should remain, as it ought to be, a secret between the two Sovereigns.

"Consequently, the objections which Lord John Russell raises to any concealment as regards the other Powers, in the event of a formal agreement being entered into, of which there is at present no question, fall to the ground; and consequently, also, the inconveniences disappear which he points out as calculated to contribute to hasten the occurrence of the very event which Russia and England are desirous of averting, if the existence of such an agreement should become prematurely known to Europe and to the subjects of the Sultan.

"As regards the subject of this wholly confidential interchange of opinions, the possible downfall of the Ottoman Empire, doubtless that it is but an uncertain and remote contingency. Unquestionably the period of it cannot be fixed, and no real crisis has arisen to render the realisation of it imminent. But after all it may happen—happen even unexpectedly. Without mentioning the ever-increasing causes of dissolution which are presented by the moral, financial, and administrative condition of the Porte, it may proceed gradually from one, at least, of the two questions mentioned by the English Ministry in its secret despatch. In truth, it perceives in those questions only mere disputes, which would not differ in their bearing from difficulties which form the ordinary business of diplomacy. But that kind of disputes may, nevertheless, bring on war, and with war the consequences which the Emperor apprehends from it; if, for instance, in the affair of the holy places, the *amour-propre* and the menaces of France, continuing to press upon the Porte, should compel it to refuse us all satisfaction, and if, on the other hand, the religious sentiments of the orthodox Greeks, offended by the concessions made to the Latins, should raise the immense majority of its subjects against the Sultan. As regards the affair of Montenegro, that, according to the late accounts, may happily be looked upon as settled. But at the time that the Emperor had his interview with Sir Hamilton Seymour, it might be apprehended that the question would take a most serious turn. Neither ourselves nor Austria could have allowed the protracted devastation or forced submission of Montenegro, a country which, up to the present time, has continued actually independent of the Porte, a country over which our protection has been extended for more than a century. The horrors which are committed there, those which, by Ottoman fanaticism, have a short time since been extended over Bulgaria, Bosnia, and the Herzegovine, gave the other Christian provinces of the Porte only too much reason to anticipate that the same fate awaited them. They were calculated to provoke the general rising of the Christians who live under the sceptre of the Turkish Empire, and to hasten its ruin. It is not then, by any means, an idle and imaginary question, a contingency too remote, to which the anxiety of the Emperor has called the attention of the Queen his ally.

"In the face of the uncertainty and decay of the existing state of things in Turkey, the English Cabinet expresses the desire that the greatest forbearance should be shown towards the Porte. The Emperor is conscious of never having acted otherwise. The English Cabinet itself admits it. It addresses to the Emperor, with reference to the numerous proofs of moderation which he has given up to the present time, praises which his Majesty will not accept, because in that he has only listened to his own overbearing conviction. But in order that the Emperor may continue to concur in that system of forbearance, to abstain from any demonstration—from any peremptory language—it would be necessary that this system should be equally observed by all the Powers at once. France has adopted another. By menaces she obtained, in opposition to the letter of the treaties, the admission of a ship of the line into the Dardanelles. At the cannon's mouth she twice presented her claims and her demands for indemnity at Tripoli, and afterwards at Constantinople. Again, in the contest respecting the holy places, by menace she affected the abrogation of the firman and that of the solemn promises which the Sultan had given the Emperor. With regard to all these acts of violence England observed a complete silence. She neither

offered support to the Porte nor addressed remonstrances to the French Government. The consequence is very evident. The Porte necessarily concluded from this that from France alone it has everything to hope, as well as everything to fear, and that it can evade with impunity the demands of Austria and of Russia. It is thus that Austria and Russia, in order to obtain justice, have been themselves compelled, in their turn, against their will, to act by intimidation, since they have to do with a Government which only yields to a peremptory attitude; and it is thus that by its own fault, or rather by that of those who have weakened it in the first instance, the Porte is urged on in a course which enfolds it still more. Let England then employ herself in making it listen to reason. Instead of uniting herself with France against the just demands of Russia, let her avoid supporting, or even appearing to support, the resistance of the Ottoman Government. Let her be the first to invite the latter, as she herself considers it essential, to treat its Christian subjects with more equity and humanity. That will be the surest means of relieving the Emperor from the obligation of availing himself in Turkey of those rights of traditional protection to which he never has recourse but against his will, and of postponing indefinitely the crisis which the Emperor and her Majesty the Queen are equally anxious to avert.

"In short, the Emperor cannot but congratulate himself at having given occasion for this intimate interchange of confidential communications between her Majesty and himself. He has found therein valuable assurances, of which he takes note with a lively satisfaction. The two Sovereigns have frankly explained to each other what in the extreme case of which they have been treating their respective interests cannot endure. England understands that Russia cannot suffer the establishment at Constantinople of a Christian Power sufficiently strong to control and disquiet her. She declares that for herself she renounces any intention or desire to possess Constantinople. The Emperor equally disclaims any wish or design of establishing himself there. England promises that she will enter into no arrangement for determining the measures to be taken in the event of the fall of the Turkish Empire without a previous understanding with the Emperor. The Emperor, on his side, willingly contracts the same engagement. As he is aware that in such a case he can equally reckon upon Austria, who is bound by her promises to concert with him, he regards with less apprehension the catastrophe which he still desires to prevent and avert as much as it shall depend on him to do so.

"No less precious to him are the proofs of friendship and personal confidence on the part of her Majesty the Queen, which Sir Hamilton Seymour has been directed on this occasion to impart to him. He sees in them the surest guarantee against the contingency which his foresight had deemed it right to point out to that of the English Government."

The conduct implied in the sentences beginning—"Let England then employ herself"—were objected to by Sir Hamilton Seymour, and Count Nesselrode was instructed to say that they applied to the future not to the past, and expressed a hope, not a reproach.

Lord Clarendon replied on the 23rd of March, mainly repeating the arguments of Lord John Russell's letter. But among other passages are the following:—

"The generous confidence exhibited by the Emperor entitles his Imperial Majesty to the most cordial declaration of opinion on the part of her Majesty's Government, who are fully aware that, in the event of any understanding with reference to future contingencies being expedient, or indeed possible, the word of his Imperial Majesty would be preferable to any convention that could be framed."

"Her Majesty's Government have accordingly learnt, with sincere satisfaction, that the Emperor considers himself even more interested than England in preventing a Turkish catastrophe; because they are convinced that upon the policy pursued by his Imperial Majesty towards Turkey, will mainly depend the hastening or the indefinite postponement of an event which every power in Europe is concerned in averting. Her Majesty's Government are convinced that nothing is more calculated to precipitate that event than the constant prediction of its being near at hand; that nothing can be more fatal to the vitality of Turkey than the assumption of its rapid and inevitable decay; and that if the opinion of the Emperor, that the days of the Turkish empire were numbered, became notorious, its downfall must occur even sooner than his Imperial Majesty now appears to expect.

"But on the supposition that, from unavoidable causes, the catastrophe did take place, her Majesty's Government entirely share the opinion of the Emperor, that the occupation of Constantinople by either of the great Powers would be incompatible with the present balance of power and the maintenance of peace in Europe, and must at once be regarded as impossible; that there are no elements for the reconstruction of a Byzantine empire; that the systematic misgovernment of Greece offers no encouragement to extend its territorial dominion; and that as there are no materials for provincial or communal government, anarchy would be the result of leaving the provinces of Turkey to themselves, or permitting them to form separate republics.

"The Emperor has announced that sooner than permit a settlement of the question by any one of these methods, he will be prepared for war at every hazard; and however much her Majesty's Government may be disposed to agree in the soundness of the views taken by his Imperial Majesty, yet they consider that the simple predetermination of what shall not be tolerated, does little towards solving the real difficulties, or settling in what manner it would be practicable, or even desirable, to deal with the heterogeneous materials of which the Turkish empire is composed.

"England desires no territorial aggrandisement, and could be no party to a previous arrangement from which she was to derive any such benefit. England could be no party to any understanding, however general, that was to be kept secret from other powers; but her Majesty's Government believe that no arrangements could control events, and that no understanding could be kept secret. They would, in the

opinion of her Majesty's Government, be the signal for preparation for intrigues of every description, and for revolts among the Christian subjects of the Porte. Each power and each party would endeavour to secure its future interests, and the dissolution of the Turkish empire would be preceded by a state of anarchy which must aggravate every difficulty, if it did not render a peaceful solution of the question impossible.

"The main object of her Majesty's Government, that to which their efforts have been and always will be directed, is the preservation of peace; and they desire to uphold the Turkish empire, from their conviction that no great question can be agitated in the East without becoming a source of discord in the West, and that every great question in the West will assume a revolutionary character, and embrace a revision of the entire social system, for which the continental Governments are certainly in no state of preparation.

"Her Majesty's Government believe that Turkey only requires forbearance on the part of its allies, and a determination not to press their claims in a manner humiliating to the dignity and independence of the Sultan—that friendly support, in short, that, with States as with individuals, the weak are entitled to expect from the strong—in order not only to prolong its existence, but to remove all cause of alarm respecting its dissolution."

Lord Clarendon acknowledged, on the 3th of April, the receipt of the Emperor's memorandum "with feelings of sincere satisfaction," but suggesting that the correspondence had better be closed.

"Her Majesty's Government do not consider that any useful purpose would be served by prolonging a correspondence upon a question with respect to which a complete understanding has been established; and I have only, therefore, further to state, that her Majesty's Government observe with pleasure that, in the opinion of the Emperor, the fall of the Turkish Empire is looked upon as an uncertain and distant contingency, and that no real crisis has occurred to render its realisation imminent."

Once again Sir Hamilton had a confidential conversation—after dinner at the Palace, on the 18th of April. Among other things the Emperor said:—

"It had been most agreeable to him to find that the overtures which he had addressed to her Majesty's Government had been responded to in the same friendly spirit in which they were made; that, to use a former expression, there was nothing in which he placed so much reliance as 'la parole d'un gentilhomme'; that he felt that the relations of the two Courts stood upon a better basis now that a clear understanding had been obtained as to points which, left in doubt, might have been productive of misintelligence.

"Upon my remarking that her Majesty's Government were understood to receive very accurate reports of what passes in Turkey, the Emperor replied with considerable animation that he called this fact in question; that he believed, on the contrary, that some of the English consular agents were incorrect in their reports; he would only refer to Bulgaria; the greatest discontent prevailed there, and his Majesty would affirm that were it not for his continued efforts to repress the manifestation of feelings of the sort, the Bulgarians would some time since have been in insurrection."

Finally, the whole affair winds up with this memorandum by the Emperor:—

(Translation.)

"The Emperor has, with lively satisfaction, made himself acquainted with Lord Clarendon's despatch of the 23rd of March. His Majesty congratulates himself on perceiving that his views and those of the English Cabinet entirely coincide on the subject of the political combinations which would be chiefly necessary to avoid in the extreme case of the contingency occurring in the East which Russia and England have equally at heart to prevent, or, at all events, to delay as long as possible. Sharing generally the opinion expressed by Lord Clarendon on the necessity of the prolonged maintenance of the existing state of things in Turkey, the Emperor, nevertheless, cannot abstain from adverting to a special point which leads him to suppose that the information received by the British Government is not altogether in accordance with ours. It refers to the humanity and the toleration to be shown by Turkey in her manner of treating her Christian subjects.

"Putting aside many other examples to the contrary of an old date, it is, for all that, notorious that recently the cruelties committed by the Turks in Bosnia forced hundreds of Christian families to seek refuge in Austria. In other respects, without wishing on this occasion to enter upon a discussion as to the symptoms of decay, more or less evident, presented by the Ottoman Power, or the greater or less degree of vitality which its internal constitution may retain, the Emperor will readily agree that the best means of upholding the duration of the Turkish Government is not to harass it by overbearing demands, supported in a manner humiliating to its independence and its dignity. His Majesty is disposed, as he has ever been, to act upon this system, with the clear understanding, however, that the same rule of conduct shall be observed, without distinction, and unanimously, by each of the great Powers, and that none of them shall take advantage of the weakness of the Porte to obtain from it concessions which might turn to the prejudice of the others. This principle being laid down, the Emperor declares that he is ready to labour, in concert with England, at the common work of prolonging the existence of the Turkish empire, setting aside all cause of alarm on the subject of its dissolution. He readily accepts the evidence offered by the British Cabinet of entire confidence in the uprightness of his sentiments, and the hope that, on this basis, his alliance with England cannot fail to become stronger.

"St. Petersburg, April 3-15, 1853."

Such is the substance of these famous secret despatches.

WAR PREPARATIONS: THE FLEET IN THE BALTIC.

A TREASURY minute just issued gives the following directions to the Commissariat department for supplying the troops with malt liquors, preserved potatoes, chocolate, coffee, tea, sugar, rice, and Scotch barley for broth. These articles of diet are in addition to the ordinary rations of bread and meat, and to be supplied in detail at their nearest wholesale cost, without payment of duty and excluding inconvenient fractions, thus leaving the public to bear the expense which will be incurred for freight, packing, and other incidental charges. The following tabular statement shows the supplies provided, the cost price, and the rate of proposed charge:—

Articles.	Quantities provided.	Cost Price.	Rate of Proposed Charge to the Troops.
Porter	64,800 gals.	35s. pr bar. of 36 gals.	3d. per qt.
Pale ale (for the officers)	2,700 "	40s. per ditto.	4d. "
Preserved potatoes	50,000 lbs.	3d. per lb.	5d. per lb.
Chocolate	10,000 "	17. 10s. per cwt.	6d. "
Coffee	8,000 "	61s. 10s. per cwt.	6d. "
Tea	8,000 "	1s. per lb.	1s. "
Sugar	100,000 "	12. 1s. 6d. per cwt.	8d. "
Rice	300,000 "	30s. 10s. per ton.	3d. "
Scotch barley for broth	10,000 "	14s. 6d. per cwt.	14d. "

The regulations under which the different articles are to be delivered in bulk by the Commissariat to each regiment and then distributed in detail, will probably be left to Lord Raglan to determine.

The naval rendezvous on Tower-hill was literally besieged on Wednesday by seamen, anxious to volunteer for service in the Baltic fleet, under the regulations recently issued by the Lords of the Admiralty, which provide that seamen volunteering expressly for this service may receive their discharge at the expiration of the present year, should such be their desire, or, at their option, they may continue in the service, and while employed they will in every respect be entitled to the same privileges as those persons who are entered for longer periods. A large number of the crews of several merchant ships that had arrived in the river in the last few days, passed over to the rendezvous and offered themselves for service.

At the suggestion of Prince Albert, Lord Raglan will take out to the East an experienced photographer.

The following are the regiments of infantry to be placed under Lord Raglan's command in the East:—The 3rd battalion of Grenadier Guards, the 1st of the Coldstreams, and the 1st of the Scotch Fusiliers; the 2nd battalion of the Rifle Brigade; the 1st battalion of the 1st Foot; the 4th, 7th, 19th, 23rd, 28th, 30th, 33rd, 38th, 41st, 42nd, 44th, 47th, 49th, 50th, 55th, 77th, 79th, 88th, 93rd, and 95th. There will thus be in the expeditionary army 22 battalions of the line and 3 of Foot Guards, in all 25 battalions, which, with the artillery and cavalry, will make up an effective force of at least 25,000 men. The 20th, 21st, 34th, 63rd, and 97th Regiments have received orders to hold themselves in readiness for "a special service," but whether that implies that they are to be placed with the rest of the British contingent under Lord Raglan's command, and to act in the East, is not known.

CONTINENTAL NOTES.

ALTHOUGH we do not yet know officially that the Emperor of Russia has rejected the ultimatum of the Four Powers, yet we know it unofficially. When he learnt it from the columns of the Times he said it would not require six minutes' consideration, much less six days. To show the temper of the Czar, an anecdote is told of his last interview with the Ambassadors, which, if not true, is characteristic enough to be true. "It is, then, war that is wanted," he exclaimed. "Well, they shall have it. I will begin it with a million of soldiers; I will have two, if I am forced only a little; and three, if I am driven to extremity!"

Another proof of his temper, and of the means he will employ in the conflict, is furnished by the following extract from a manifesto published in the Principality:—"The Sultan having persisted in his obstinacy, and France and England having marched against Russia, we will advance in the name of the Holy Trinity to smother our co-religionists from the yoke of their oppressors, and let the oppressed make common cause with us." It is stated that this manifesto is to be printed in the Wallachian, Bulgarian, and Serbian languages.

On the 6th of March an Imperial ukase declared the governments of Esthonia (Esthland), Livonia, St. Petersburg, Archangel, Kormo, Wilna, Grodno, Volhynia, Podolia, Ekaterinodar, Taganrog, the Kingdom of Poland, and the Duchy of Courland to be in a state of war. All women and children have been ordered from the Russian ports in the Baltic, beginning with Revel. Garrisons have been thrown into Sveaborg and Revel, and Cronstadt has been fortified within—all the houses have been turned into posts. There are twenty-seven ships of the line, eighteen frigates, and several smaller Russian vessels of war in the Baltic, manned by upwards of 80,000 men.

Advices from St. Petersburg to the 15th state that the export of gold had been prohibited by an Imperial ukase.

Meanwhile the policy of the German Courts does not become clearer with the advance of events. Much negotiation and hurrying to and fro between Munich and Berlin, and Berlin and Vienna, has been performed by Colonel Manteuffel, the brother of the Prussian Minister. It is believed that Prussia is making a strong effort to involve Austria in a declaration of neutrality for the whole of Germany, or else to make her distinctly declare her position. At Munich, Manteuffel saw the Austrian Emperor. When the latter returned to his capital, on the 20th, Baron Meyendorff, the Russian Minister, craved instant audience, which he had of course.

Prussian policy grows hopelessly obscure. M. Manteuffel has made his promised explanations, but they explain little, except that the Government wants 30,000,000 of thalers, without declaring its policy. Prussia, says the minister, will look after her own interests, and the independence of Germany. She will insist on co-operating for the peace of Europe; but her interests, her position, do not call upon her to take active measures. Her views of the Eastern question are recorded in protocols, and by them she will stand. She will not be dictated to by any side, nor use for any other purpose the resources God has put into the hands of Prussia's kings for German independence. In short, Prussia will wait upon events, remain neutral, and make her neutrality respected.

As might have been anticipated this policy pleases no one. It is too European for the Russian party, and too reserved and suspicious for the Prussians. This was indicated by the cheers of the Chamber; they came only from the right. Meanwhile the Prussian Baltic towns, seeing war close upon them, have prayed the Government to adhere, at least morally, to the Western Powers.

It is a remarkable fact that Count Benckendorf, Russian military envoy at Berlin, who some time ago received orders to go to the Caucasus, has been permitted to remain at the Court. Neither will Baron Budberg take that short leave of absence which he threatened he would. To move the Court, the Empress of Russia has brought her influence to bear. At present all seems to indicate that Prussia will play in 1854 the game she played early in the century—make a waiting race of it and be dead beat.

The Vienna Lloyd re-appears after its eight days' suspension with two enormous supplements, one of which is a spirited anti-Russian pamphlet by the editor. The neutrality of Germany is ridiculed as impossible; Austria and Prussia cannot but oppose the notorious intentions of Russia. "Nay," it is said, "even were the Sultan completely in the wrong—had he invaded Russia in the midst of profound peace—had he maltreated the Russians with coarse insolence and without a just cause—still Constantinople must not become Russian. Nay, further, if even Sultan Abd-ul-Medjid, together with his divan, his mafia, and the whole of his clergy, were to become converts to the 'orthodox' church—if they were altogether to betake themselves to a convent, and voluntarily cede the keys and the dominion of Constantinople to the Czar—Europe would be compelled to rise in arms, in order that Byzantium should not fall to Russia."

The British fleet entered Wingo Sound on the 15th, and on the 20th Admiral Napier went up to Copenhagen in the *Valorous*. At that city, at Kiel, and generally in the Baltic the fleet was looked for with great anxiety. But, as yet, we are without any news of its movements. There is a report, however, that it will be safer for the *Duke of Wellington* and the vessels of the first class to pass through the Great Belt by Nyborg, where the water is deeper, though the navigation is more intricate, instead of through the Sound, where there is only 25 or 26 feet of water in some parts of the channel.

The appearance of the British fleet in these waters has greatly strengthened the popular and constitutional party in Denmark, and, on the other hand, afflicted the friends of Russia with proportionate disgust.

The English Government applied to engage sixty Prussian pilots at Swinemunde, the port of Stettin. They have requested leave of absence from the Government here.

The *Moniteur*, of Tuesday, announced that the *Austerlitz*, of 100 guns, left Brest on the 20th inst. for the Baltic; and that the *Hercule*, *Duguesclin*, and *Trident* have left Toulon for the same destination. The *Duperré* was to leave on the 24th to join the Baltic fleet, and the remaining vessels very shortly. Admiral Paraveau-Deschenes left Paris yesterday for Brest, to take the command of the Baltic squadron.

The intelligence from France is interesting. The Government keep their preparations for the East very secret, so that we have no news of the numbers that have embarked. All we know is that General Canrobert, with the first division has sailed from Marseilles, and that there is a great show of activity. It is asserted that two thousand British cavalry and one thousand artillery will march through Paris for Toulon and Marseilles. Marshal Vaillant, it is reported, has not found the army in that high state of efficiency of which we have heard so much; and to relieve himself of the responsibility, he has made a report to the Emperor.

The publication of the secret correspondence has produced the best effects in France. The *Moniteur*, of Thursday, says, at the close of an article on the subject—"As to the Government of the Emperor Napoleon, there is but one observation to make upon the studied endeavour of Russia to leave it out of the question in her plans of territorial re-division—which is, that Russia came back to the French Government after having failed in London, and that France in her turn had to decline advances more or less direct, which are not without resemblance to those which were first made to England."

The *Union* publishes a first warning which it has just received from the Government authorities, for "persisting, notwithstanding the non-official recommendations given to it, in a system of attacks, marked by bad faith, and of an insulting nature, towards the allies of France, and in particular for an article published by it on March 20."

The official and diplomatic world of Paris has been

in a state of great excitement within the last six days, in consequence of the sudden appearance and equally sudden disappearance of a pamphlet entitled "Révision de la Carte de l'Europe." It is quite understood to be the production of the highest personage in the State. On Saturday it was sent *officiellement* to the *Sicde* and the *Journal des Débats*, and these journals were authorised to publish it. The work is only sixteen pages, and is published by M. Pion, the publisher of the Emperor. The *Sicde* had already printed (but not published) this pamphlet, when an agent from the Minister of the Interior arrived with counter-orders. He at the same time seized upon the only copy of the pamphlet in the possession of the editor, directed the printer to be distributed, and destroyed all the proofs. He then proceeded to the printing-office of M. Pion, seized all the copies of the pamphlet printed, and directed the composition of the pamphlet (for it was yet in type) to be destroyed. What was the meaning of all this? Why this sudden change of plan? No doubt, prudence; and certainly it was not without reason that the publication was abandoned; for it appears that by the plan laid down in this work, Lombardy was to be given to Piedmont; Moldavia and Servia to Austria; the Crimea was to be given to the Porte; Poland was to be reconstituted, under the suzerainty of Prussia; and Finland was to be restored to Sweden. Here are changes with a vengeance; and, coming from the head of the State, the ideas put forth are no joke.

The Legislative Body are deliberating as to whether they shall prosecute M. de Montalembert for the publication of a letter to M. Dupin, in which he says, that Frenchmen are living under the *Bas Empire*, and that it is an atrocious insult to the Revolution of 1789 to speak of the present system as its consequence. The acts of the Government are denounced as seditious, revolutionary. Having mentioned the name of M. Troplong, and pointing also at M. Dupin himself, he asks, "Where can be found more cowardly adulators or more complete valets than the legislators who justify the existing order of things?" M. Montalembert denies that he knew anything about the publication of the letter, which originally appeared in a Belgian paper.

Vely Pasha, the Turkish Ambassador to the Courts of France and Belgium, had an audience of King Leopold on Friday week, and delivered his letters of credence. The king replied by expressing to Vely Pasha the satisfaction he felt at the friendly relations subsisting between the two countries, and his hope that they would continue to increase. The Turk was charmed with his reception.

The war on the Danube has not progressed of late, and matters remain much as they were. But steps have been taken which bring Russia and the allies very close to war. On Saturday, the 11th, a circular was communicated by the Consulate to the merchants and shipowners, to inform them that the Russians had endeavoured to impede the navigation of the St. George's mouth of the Danube by throwing in stones, sand-bags, anchors, and rubbish, and that of the Sulina mouth by stretching a chain across, with a temporary opening in the centre for small vessels. This information comes from the English Consul at Galatz. It does not appear whether these precautions are taken to prevent the ingress of the British and French steamers, or the egress of all merchant vessels. On the 12th, her Majesty's ship *Redoubtable* and the French steam-frigate *Cuven* left Beikos to force the bar, if needful.

It is said that "Major Toms, attached by Prince Schwartzburg to the staff of Prince Gortschakoff in order to notice (surveiller) the movements of the Russians, has just been recalled by his Government. This recall has produced a great sensation among the Russians. It has been considered as a first step towards a rupture between Austria and Russia." There are reasons for doubting the importance given to this recall.

Advices from Constantinople of the 13th instant announce that the tripartite treaty between the Porte and England and France was signed on the 12th.

It is quite impossible to give any authentic statement respecting the Greek insurrection.

The latest advices state that "Zavallas has been proclaimed commander-in-chief of the insurgents. Souli and the northern coast of Epirus are entirely up in arms. The insurrection now extends to Aro, from the Pindus mountain-range to Mezzovo." This is all very well. But other accounts, without mentioning such a very famous person as Zavallas, (who is he?) tell us that the insurgents have been grievously defeated by the regular Turkish troops landed at Volo; and certainly there is not the least reason for believing that either Janina, Arta, or Preveza, have been taken. What is certain is, that Fuad Effendi, has been sent with full powers to suppress the insurrection; and that the Powers have severally rated the King of Greece for winking hard at these proceedings.

DINNER TO LORD HARRIS.

ONE of those stately banquets which the East India Directors hold in honour of the governors of the Indian Presidencies, was given to Lord Harris, on Saturday, to celebrate his departure for Trinidad. Mr. Russell Ellice, Chairman of the Directors, presided. Among the guests were three Cabinet Ministers—the Duke of Newcastle, Lord Canning, and Mr. Sidney Herbert; and beside these a great company of men who have earned distinction in home and Indian affairs. In proposing the health of Lord Harris, the chairman said he was no untried man. For some years he had been governor of Trinidad, and all classes vied in testifying in his favour.

"The Court of Directors have full confidence in the noble lord, and feel assured he will do his utmost to promote a better system of land revenue in Madras, and to develop the agricultural resources of that country. The important department of public works will also claim his particular attention, and we are further persuaded that his best endeavours will be directed to the improvement of the colony."

yours will be devoted to that most difficult, but vital and important question, viz., education."

In response Lord Harris expressed his gratification at the handsome manner in which the toast was proposed. He fully felt the responsibility of the task he had undertaken. He had other incentives to exert all his energies in his work besides the sense of duty. "First of all, the title which has descended to me, and which is to me a source of honest pride, is no small incentive to me in the discharge of my trust. Another reason why I should have still more zeal to exert myself in that country is that I shall not go there totally ignorant of the character of its natives; because during the last seven or eight years several thousands of the natives of India have been under my charge, and I have consequently been enabled to learn something of their manners and customs, and to form some opinion of their character and capacities. Another and perhaps the most important reason of all is that I have had for a predecessor one who was, for his goodness, his wisdom, and his prudence, supposed to be unequalled in the situation which he filled, and the loss of whom to the presidency could not but be felt to be a very heavy one. Yet it must be a great incentive to me—although I know that I cannot hope to equal that great man—to feel that, at all events, if I follow in his footsteps, I cannot far go wrong."

Among the other speakers were the Duke of Newcastle, who, from personal knowledge, warmly testified to the high character and abilities of the new governor; Sir George Lambert, who spiritedly answered for "The British Navy," and Sir Charles Pasley, who responded in a similar spirit for "The Army," with a view to the coming struggle; Mr. Sullivan, who returned thanks for the Indian Civil Service; and Sir George Pollock, for the Indian Army.

THE PRESTON LABOUR-BATTLE.

(From our Correspondent.)

Preston, Thursday.

LAST Saturday it was known about the town that the magistrates were sitting at the Town Hall, with closed doors, and surmises were abroad that some very strong measure against the operatives was to be expected from that quarter. At a meeting of the unemployed held upon Ribbleson Moor (about a mile and a half out of Preston), George Cowell told his audience that from what he could hear it was not unlikely that he would be arrested, though upon what charge he was unable to imagine; and urged them that, if such an event should take place, they would keep the peace above all things, and not fall into the trap by causing a riot. On Monday morning a meeting was announced to be held in a field behind the Bridge Inn, at Penwortham Bridge: but upon some two thousand of the unemployed repairing thither they were harangued by Cowell, and informed that the lessee of the field had been compelled, much against his wish, to refuse them a standing upon his ground. Cowell again referred to the possibility of his arrest, and again impressed upon the people the paramount importance of keeping the peace. All Monday the magistrates were again closeted in the Town Hall, with Mr. Ascroft (the pluralist Town Clerk, who is believed to advise the Masters' Association), and a number of other persons. Between nine and ten o'clock in the evening the enigma was solved by the simultaneous arrest of five of the delegates. Cowell was taken in the railway station, as he was about to step into the Manchester train. Waddington was seized in his own house. The others were captured in various parts of the town. In answer to inquiries made at the lock-up, the police preserved a strict silence as to the cause of arrest, and as to the number of persons included in the warrants; precautions which proved to be perfectly unnecessary, inasmuch as directly it was known who were the persons wanted, they voluntarily came forward and surrendered themselves. Directly the news of the arrests had reached the committee-rooms, committee-meetings were at once held by the unionists for the purpose of concerting measures to preserve the peace of the town, and allay the excitement which might be expected to arise when the facts became known to the people. Special bellmen were appointed to promenade the streets at daybreak, and exhort the people to be peaceful, and the following placard was upon the walls before the sun had risen:—

"WHEREAS our leaders have been apprehended by the magistrates, upon a charge not yet known, we adjure you most earnestly that, as you value the cause for which you have so long and so nobly fought, you will KEEP THE PEACE, and not suffer the excitement of the moment to betray you into the slightest offence against the law. To create a disturbance is all that is wanted, for the soldiers are prepared to shoot you down in the streets. There is a law in England greater and wiser than that of the Preston magistrates,

and we willingly intrust ourselves and our rights to that law.

"By Order of the

"POWER-LOOM WEAVERS' COMMITTEE."

On Tuesday morning the Unionists appointed a large number of their body to mix with the crowd, and press to order as far as possible; and these precautions did not seem unnecessary, for, no sooner was the fact of the arrests generally known, than the entire body of the unemployed assembled around the Town Hall, forming a crowd so dense and vast that it would have been possible to walk upon men's heads from Cheapside to the Bull Hotel. Nor were these precautionary measures in vain, for, although the crowd remained immovable during the whole of the day, and never stirred until bidden to do so by the delegates, after their liberation upon bail, nothing occurred save a tremendous cheer of encouragement and congratulation as their leaders passed into and came out of the Town Hall. At an early hour communication had been made to Mr. Cobbett, of Manchester, and that gentleman lost no time in repairing to Preston to take part in the defence. A full report of the proceedings will be found elsewhere; but it will be observed that Mr. Cobbett did not take a very prominent part in them; the fact is, that during Monday afternoon he left for Liverpool, leaving the conduct of the defence in the very able hands of Messrs. Noble and Blackhurst. It is not thought, however, that his absence had any effect upon his clients' case, for there was a very general feeling from the first that the examination before the magistrates could have no other termination than a committal.

On Wednesday morning James Luke Wood and Brocklehurst voluntarily surrendered themselves, and the tale of delegates included in the warrants was now complete. During that day, Thursday, an immense crowd thronged the approaches to the Town Hall, but the same peaceable and decent order prevailed throughout. The crowd never moved from its position until their leaders were liberated, and when that occurred and they were requested to disperse, the streets were deserted within five minutes. There is no doubt that the sympathy of the middle classes of Preston has been greatly excited by these proceedings, and the numbers of substantial bailiers who nightly presented themselves gave very efficient testimony of this. Some of the tradesmen of the town have organised a committee for collecting a fund to assist in paying the expenses of the defence, and to carry this out the following placard has appeared upon the walls:—

"THE DELEGATES' DEFENCE FUND.

"Many of the friends of the operatives' cause having thought it desirable that a subscription should be entered into for the defence, at Liverpool, of the *Martyr Delegates*, apart from the general fund intended for the relief of the lock-outs, notice is hereby given that subscription lists will be opened at the following places."

Here follow eight addresses of tradesmen and innkeepers. On Wednesday evening, nearly 15*l.* was subscribed for this purpose in the bar-parlour of a simple inn; and on Thursday morning a common labourer entered the shop of the treasurer to this fund, and laid down a sovereign to be applied to that purpose. It is anticipated that Sir Frederick Thesiger will be retained for the defence, and it is believed that Mr. Serjeant Wilkins has been secured for the prosecution. One result of the movement has been a considerable influx of new delegates into the town, and many leading men among the operatives, who have hitherto kept a little in the background, have come forward to meet the emergency.

While the ten delegates were being committed to trial for conspiracy, the Masters' Association held its adjourned meeting at the Bell Hotel, when the following resolutions were agreed to:—

"That this meeting regrets that the continued unwillingness of many of the operatives to resume work has forced upon the masters the necessity of importing a large number of hands from other districts; that it approves of the course hitherto so successfully adopted, and is determined to persevere in the same until the mills are fully at work; that it pledges itself to afford protection and constant employment to all persons engaged.

"2. That this meeting deems it unnecessary to call the Associated Masters together, as heretofore, from month to month; and, therefore, at its rising, do adjourn to this day three months, namely, Thursday, the 22nd June next.

"BY ORDER OF THE ASSOCIATION."

Why adjourn for three months? Why not *sine die*?

As a comment upon the pledge to afford constant employment, it is perhaps worthy of notice that some of the masters have this week sent back some of the hands whom they have imported. Eleven hands were sent away this morning by Messrs. Birley, Brothers. It is understood that these persons were induced to leave Hull by representations made to them as to the wages to be earned in Preston; but that their dissatisfaction on coming was so great that it was deemed expedient to be rid of them.

The following return of the immigrants which have arrived during the past week, will serve to give some idea of the progress of the experiment:—

"March 17th.—33 hands by Liverpool train, 15 of whom ready for the mills. All unskilled, Irish, and very filthy.

"March 18th.—14 hands from Halifax, all workers, and chiefly Irish.—8 hands from Newchurch and Bacup, all workers.—30 unskilled persons from Lancaster, 10 of whom fit for work.—8 Irish factory operatives from Manchester.—24 persons from East Lancashire, about 8 of whom workers.

"March 19th.—2 young females from Manchester.

"March 20th.—27 Irish from Manchester, a very filthy lot; 7 of these went back in the evening.—64 from Hull, of whom about 45 workers.—130 from the south, by special train, all unskilled, and about one-half fit for work.—36 from Manchester; some of these arrived drunk.

"March 21st.—None.

"March 22nd.—1 from Bolton.—17 from Hull, about 10 of whom were workers."

So that, during the week ending Thursday afternoon, it would appear that 384 immigrants have been imported into Preston, 151 of whom are utterly useless (being either aged persons or young children), and by far the greater proportion of the remainder altogether unskilled.

Some of the manufacturers in the outlying districts complain very bitterly of the conduct of certain of the associated masters, in that they have used unfair means to persuade their hands to leave them and come to Preston. One gentleman boasts of having prevailed upon some families to leave their work at Clitheroe, and of having written out their notices with his own hand. A Preston master, working upon terms satisfactory to the hands, complains that agents of the Association have even had the audacity to enter his mill and attempt to bribe his weavers into leaving their looms. Next week I hope to be enabled to give the result of a special investigation into these practices.

The operatives engaged in the ten per cent. movement are very anxious to disconnect themselves entirely from the *mass movement*, promoted by Mr. Ernest Jones and his friends. At a meeting of the central committee of the Factory Operatives' Association assembled at Preston, on Sunday last, the following resolutions were passed:—

"1st.—That the best thanks of the central committee be given to the factory operatives, for their strict adherence to *peace, law, and order*.

"2nd.—That no member of the executive or propagandist committee be allowed to interfere with the "*mass movement*."

"3rd.—That the central committee representing the power-loom weavers of the manufacturing districts, do not countenance or recognise the '*mass movement*' or its proceedings.

"4th.—That the delegates present pledge themselves to raise increased funds for the support of the strike."

EXAMINATION OF THE DELEGATES ON A CHARGE OF CONSPIRACY.

ON Tuesday morning, shortly after eleven o'clock, George Cowell, Michael Gallaher, Mortimer Grimshaw, Thomas Laing, and Thomas Gardner, were brought up before the magistrates, sitting at the Town-hall, for the purpose of being examined upon the charge for which they had been apprehended. The warrant upon which these were apprehended also included Luke Wood and Brocklehurst, who voluntarily surrendered during the day. The bench was occupied by Mr. T. Walsley, Mayor; Messrs. R. Pedder, R. Law, and R. Pedder, and Dr. Monk. Mr. Ascroft, the Town Clerk, appeared for the prosecution. Mr. R. B. Cobbett, of Manchester, appeared for Gardner; Mr. Noble, of Preston, for Gallaher, Grimshaw, and Cowell; and Mr. Blackhurst, of Preston, for Laing. The court was densely crowded, but in spite of the great excitement which naturally prevailed, generally speaking, little or no difficulty was experienced in maintaining order.

Mr. Ascroft, in opening the case, stated that the defendants were charged with a conspiracy. The magistrates would know that for a long time past disputes had existed between the masters and the work-people in Preston. The masters, in the month of February, opened their mills and were desirous that the people should seek employment and be employed. Their expectations on that head not being realised, they resolved to avail themselves of hands from other places, and accordingly made arrangements for that purpose. In the week ending Saturday, the 25th of February, a number of hands were engaged in Manchester—some to work for Messrs. Haslam, some for Messrs. Wilding and Sharples, and for other parties; and on the following Monday morning between fifty and sixty hands were brought to Preston by Mr. Gallaher, Mr. Haslam's agent at Manchester. On their arrival at the railway station, in Preston, they were placed in a room whilst a conveyance was procured to remove them to the mills. Whilst they were there a great number of persons flocked to the station, prevailed upon a great number of hands not to go with the person by whom they had been hired, and succeeded in inducing about forty-four of them to go to the Farmers' Arms.

During the time they were there, a meeting was held in the Orchard, at which Mr. Grimshaw and Mr. Cowell spoke; the latter stating that the masters had brought a number of hands from Manchester, and adding:—"We have succeeded in rescuing them from them." They could not prevail upon the whole of the hands to go to the Farmers' Arms, for about a dozen were taken by Mr. Haslam and Mr. Galloway, with the intention of conveying them to the mill of the former. On the way, they were met by Grimshaw and others, and Grimshaw succeeded in getting one away, money being offered to induce them to leave those by whom they had been engaged. Now the persons taken to the Farmers' Arms were treated with meat and drink, and were kept there during the whole of the day; and whenever they wanted to leave the house to go into the yard, they were accompanied by one or two persons. Speeches were made to them against the masters, and eventually they were persuaded into returning to Manchester. Now he should show that Grimshaw took a most active part in all these proceedings; that he accompanied the parties to the station; and that he distributed tickets to the different hands, who were accompanied back to Manchester by Brocklehurst and Gallaher. Laing was active in getting the people from the station to the Farmers' Arms, and was despatched to prevent others coming from Manchester to Preston. When the people came back to Manchester, they were met by Laing, and taken by him and Gallaher to a house, where they were treated with more drink. On the following day, some who had been induced to return were anxious to re-engage, and accordingly went towards the warehouse of Mr. Galloway, but were met by Gallaher, Laing, and others. They were taken to a public-house, and speeches were made against the masters. However, the next day, the parties again proceeded towards Mr. Galloway's warehouse, and eventually succeeded in their object. The next day they walked to Bolton, and then came on to Preston. He believed he should show that in the course of the proceedings Gardner was very active. He should show the direct interference of other parties, and he should show by balance-sheets obtained from the Farmers' Arms (the head-quarters of the spinners), that during the last two or three weeks it was evident that they had been spending their money to get parties away. He felt satisfied the evidence would leave no doubt upon the minds of the bench that the defendants had entered into a conspiracy for an illegal purpose. Mr. Ascroft then proceeded to call witnesses in support of his case.

John Alexander Denham (reporter to the *Preston Chronicle*, and specially retained by the Masters' Association) was called to prove the language used at the meetings. As this gentleman had not preserved his short-hand notes, Mr. Ascroft proposed to put in a copy of the *Preston Chronicle* to enable the witness to refresh his memory. The witness admitted that the report in the *Chronicle* was only "a partial account," and, after some discussion, the Bench ruled that it could not be put in. Witness had attended a meeting held in the Orchard on Thursday, the 2nd of March [short-hand notes produced]. Brocklehurst was chairman, and the speakers were James Waddington, Luke Wood, Kinder Smith, E. Swinglehurst, M. Grimshaw, and G. Cowell. Waddington said—

"The masters are bringing all the scum of the world into Preston, but we will fit no more back from Preston. Some of them never saw a mill in their lives." . . . "We are emigrating them faster than they can bring them. We have seen nine families out this week, and they have not brought nine in that can work."

Mr. Ascroft—Now turn to the speech of Mortimer Grimshaw.

The witness read as follows:—

"The trades have agreed to pay all the expenses of sending people back from this town." . . . "I went to Bradford yesterday. I made it my first business to placard the walls with the bill headed 'Labour in danger,' and it was read with the greatest eagerness. The board of guardians sent for copies of the placards. There were 204 persons put down to come to Preston. Arkwright and Naylor (associated masters) had been to Bradford and said that all was settled in Preston, and that they were deficient of that number of hands, and they wanted these from Bradford to make up the deficiency. The placard stated just the reverse. I went to the poor-law guardians and to the overseer, and he told me everything that the masters had done and said he would assist them no longer—they must go back to their own town and give the people that which they ought to have. The masters then begged of them (the guardians) as a last favour that they would condescend to let the overseer go round and point out such families as were unemployed. The overseer agreed to do that, but he would be no party in the concern. Then Messrs. Arkwright and Naylor, while out with the overseer, wanted him to use his influence to get them to go. The overseer said—'No; I have pointed out the families; I have fulfilled my duty, and I will do no more for you.' The overseer pointed out nine or twelve, and out of that number only two had shown a disposition to come to Preston. The feeling of the people of Bradford is that they will die of hunger before they will come and take your places, though trade is very bad there and many are hungry. Those who have full work have to rise by six o'clock in a morning, and work till ten o'clock at night, and can't earn more than 6s. or 7s. a week. I never saw more

misery, privation, or poverty in my life. The masters here thought they could offer greater inducements to them, and thought they would come and swamp you in Preston. I called a meeting of the people, who were so indignant at the conduct of Arkwright and Naylor that four fierce-looking fellows came to me and asked me to point them out, and they would keep their eye on them till dark and would give them the d—d hiding that ever they got in their lives."

Mr. Ascroft—Now turn to your notes of a meeting held on Saturday, the 4th of March.

Witness—That meeting was held at Cattam, near Preston. Waddington was chairman. Gallaher (who was the first speaker after the chairman) said—

"You will be aware that parties are coming from other districts and countries to come and fill our places. The masters tell them such a fine lot of stuff that they imagine they are to be like kings and princes. But to their sorrow, and to my sorrow too, they will find themselves mistaken, and to a very great extent."

Here (said the witness) there was an interruption, and a voice in the crowd said—"They are crying." Gallaher then continued—

"Thank you. I was going to tell you that these poor innocent individuals are being deluded, but it is not so much their fault as the manufacturers. I would tell them, even if they were standing before me this afternoon, that they are responsible to the country at large, and to Heaven itself, for the degradation, the privation, and the misery which they are bringing into the town of Preston; and they are likewise accountable for the dark deeds which they have perpetrated this last week. The example of Mr. Hollins should have been an example to them. The hundreds of pounds they are expending this week will be to their own detriment and damage. They thought that 'If we can get these people here, the people will try to get them back again.' Last Monday a great number did come, and we removed them back. We wished to implant on the masters that if they brought any more, we should send them back again; but if they fill the whole town and country, we shall not remove a single one back again. We know how to make use of our own money better than that. From the doings of Monday last, we have solemn pledges from the manufacturing districts that money shall not be wanting."

Mr. Ascroft—Now turn to the speech of Mortimer Grimshaw, about those poor people from Belfast.

The witness read the following:—

"Those poor people from Belfast were brought under a most vile statement, but when they got to the station and heard the correct version of the case, I saw the poor creatures with tears in their eyes."

Examination continued.—To the best of my belief the spinners' committee-room is at the Farmers' Arms. They are in the habit of publishing weekly balance-sheets of their receipts and expenditure, and I have procured them at the Farmers' Arms.

Cross-examined by Mr. Noble—I have attended most of the operatives' meetings, and the various speakers always recommended "peace, law, and order," without exception. Beyond an occasional cheer, I never saw anything but perfectly orderly conduct.

James Boden (a little boy), examined by Mr. Ascroft—On Saturday, the 25th of February, I went to Mr. Galloway's warehouse, in Manchester. He agreed to give me work, and I told him I could feed weighing in a blowing-room. Was to work for Mr. Haslam, and to come to Preston on the following Monday. Came to Preston on Monday. Mr. Galloway paid my fare. When we arrived, we went into one of the guard-rooms. There were between fifty and sixty came together. Two persons, named Bright and Kelly, were of the party. I went out with Bright and Kelly. I can't tell whether I saw any of the defendants. I was taken to the Farmers' Arms. About 12 o'clock, Bright and Kelly returned to Manchester. Some one, who was called Laing, went with them. I don't think the person they called Laing is here. We were taken up-stairs at the Farmers' Arms, and they gave us some bread and cheese. Speeches were made at the Farmers' Arms. None of them here made speeches that I recollect. They called one of the speakers Gallaher. I don't see the man whom they called Gallaher here.

Mr. Ascroft (pointing to Michael Gallaher)—Now look at the furthest person in the dock. [All the persons in court here gave vent to an uncontrollable burst of indignation, and the Bench decided against this novel mode of conducting a case.]

Mr. Ascroft—I only wanted to refresh the witness's memory.

Witness continued—Whilst at the Farmers' Arms I had occasion to go into the yard. Two or three parties accompanied me every time.

Mr. Ascroft attempted to elicit what had been said at the Farmers' Arms; but as no evidence had been offered to connect the prisoners with any speeches made there, the Bench ruled that it was not admissible.

Examination continued—We went down to the railway station in the evening. One man accompanied every three of us. Grimshaw was at the railway station. That is Grimshaw [pointing him out]. He gave us tickets as we got into the train. Three or four persons went back with us to Manchester. They called one Gallaher. He was the man who made a speech at the Farmers' Arms. At the Manchester station we were met by Bright and

Kelly, and by the man whom they called Laing. We went to the Adelphi Tavern. Next day I went to Mr. Galloway's with John Burn. Saw some of the persons who had accompanied us from Preston to Manchester, and went with them to the Trafford Arms: two of them were called Gallaher and Laing. They paid for some drink there. On the following day I went to the warehouse and engaged with Mr. Galloway to come to Preston. I went to work at Messrs. Haslam's, and have worked there since.

Upon cross-examination, the lad stated that when he came to Preston for the second time he saw Mr. Haslam, who told him he would pay him according to what he could do, and that that was the first time that wages had been mentioned.

Another lad, named John Burn, was called, who testified to the same effect as the previous witness. He stated that, when they were at the Farmers' Arms, they were told that the Preston hands were all out, and if we went in we should be upon the terms they had gone out upon.

William McCrae stated that he engaged with Mr. Galloway to work for Sharples and Wilding, and came to Preston with fifty-seven others on Monday, the 27th of February. A great many people were outside the railway station. We were asked outside if we knew it was a turn-out. Laing told me to come with him and I should be well used. This man went to the Farmers' Arms and returned to Manchester in the same manner as the preceding witnesses. Upon cross-examination he stated that he agreed with Mr. Galloway that he should have eight shillings a week, until he had learnt to weave upon the steam-loom. Referring to what was said to him upon the occasion of his first visit to Preston, the witness said:—"They said they would excuse us that time on account of being blind-led by the masters. I went to the Farmers' Arms because I was persuaded, and was afraid to go to work, seeing a great number of people about. Seeing all the rest go, I went with them. Nobody compelled me to go. If I had chosen, I could have remained in the guards' room till Mr. Galloway came."

It being now four o'clock, the proceedings were adjourned, and the defendants were all liberated upon bail being put in for their appearance next morning. There was no difficulty about this, for bail to any amount might have been obtained, and the defendants left the court amid the hearty and vociferous cheering of a vast multitude.

Upon the assembling of the court on Wednesday, Mr. Ascroft recalled McCrae, the witness who had been examined on the preceding day. This man deposed that on going to the Farmers' Arms the names and occupations of the immigrants were taken down, and identified Gardner as the man who asked him his name and what he had done.

George Galloway deposed that he lived in Manchester, and was a partner in the firm of Sharples and Co., cotton-spinners and manufacturers, of Preston. In the week ending 25th of February many persons came to my warehouse to engage to go to Preston. I made engagements with a number of those persons. On Monday the 27th I brought fifty-seven people from Manchester to Preston. I paid their fares. Some of the hands were engaged for Messrs. Haslam. The unskilled hands were to receive 6s. per week as learners. Two were skilled hands, and they were to have what they could earn. Came with the hands to Preston. When we got there they were placed in a large room at the station while we procured conveyances to remove them. On returning, I saw many of the new hands in Fishergate. There was a crowd assembled very busy in taking the people away. They got away the greater portion of those I had brought. Grimshaw (identifying the defendant) was very busy interfering with the hands. I went forward to the railway station. All the hands had left the room where they had been, but there were several remaining on the platform. We got twelve together and put three into a shandry. One female was forced out of the conveyance. There were a great number of people about, hurraing and making a great noise. The two who remained in the conveyance were sent on to the mill. Many of the hands who remained with me appeared frightened. I then made arrangements to take them to Messrs. Haslam's mill. Grimshaw followed us from the station to Moss Church and offered 7s. to a girl named Doyle. [The witness could not undertake to say what were the exact words used.] Doyle was engaged to come to Messrs. Haslam's. Did not see Grimshaw do anything beyond what I have stated with regard to Doyle. I conveyed twelve hands to Messrs. Haslam's mill. I returned to Manchester the same night. Since the 27th of February, I have seen persons about our warehouse in Manchester who have stopped parties who came to apply for work.

Cross-examined by Mr. Noble—When I left the people at the station they had perfect liberty to go out of the station if they thought proper. I am not certain whether any of the twelve who went with me have returned to Manchester. I don't think any of them have entered into any agreement at all.

Henry Rigby, Inspector of Weights and Measures, gave some evidence confirmatory of Mr. Galloway's statement.

Cross-examined by Mr. Noble—Grimshaw offered money, and said, "come along with us." The crowd was pretty well conducted considering the whole affair. It is nothing new in Preston to have a bit of a crowd. When there is the least excitement a crowd is soon got together.

Joseph Hargreaves (reporter to the *Preston Pilot*) produced notes taken at the meeting in the Orchard on Monday, the 27th of February, and read:—

"Mr. Cowell said—I did hope and trust and also believe that the Preston manufacturers had better generalship in them, that they understood their own interests, and that they were better acquainted with the position of Preston than they are at the present time. However, it seems that they are determined to war, and that they are determined to war until the whole of Preston are starved into submission. What will be the result of this contest I cannot tell, neither can any other man tell; but I have to tell you this much, that we are determined that it shall not be lost for lack of means, men, or money. They (the manufacturers) may go to Manchester, and they may attempt to sweep Manchester of all the refuse that it contains, and they may bring them down to Preston. They have been at the expense of going to Manchester to fetch some sixty individuals, to whom to surrender our labour; but we have succeeded this morning in grasping some sixty or fifty-eight of them; and if we can only carry on this way we will help to get shut of a thousand pounds or two for them. We (the operatives) have elevated them to the position which they now occupy. If they have money to be rid of we are determined that before we will work for low wages—before we will not be properly remunerated, we are determined to waste that which they have got. I have a little advice to give to you. While these men are attempting to invade this town with what they call 'foreigners,' keep the peace. If a policeman insults you, do not insult him back again. Bear it with patience. These people are in England. We have as good a right to bid a price for them as the masters."

Mr. Swinglehurst was the next speaker. Then followed Mr. Brown from Blackburn, Mr. Higham, and Mr. Grimshaw; and these were succeeded by the chairman, Luke Wood, who said:—

"I have got the names of the parties that have been deluded by the masters' agents to the number of sixty-four. There are only sixty-two come. There are seven card-loom hands; sixteen are engaged to weave at 10s. per week; the others never worked in a factory before. There are people stationed at the Farmers' Arms that have not 'bit' for the last week. We have the masters in a noose, and before we have done with them we will make them wish that they may never get into that noose again. They know that they are 'licked,' and they are determined to bring as many people into Preston as they can, to overwhelm the labour market of Preston."

Cross-examined by Mr. Noble—Peace was always recommended at the operatives' meetings. The general tenor of the language used was, that they wanted the ten per cent.

Christopher Riley (a lad) said—On the 4th of March I went to Mr. Naylor's mill. [Contract produced.] My signature is attached to that paper.

Mr. Ascroft stated that it was a contract between the witness and Mr. James Naylor, the former agreeing to serve the latter for one year, as a self-actor minder, at 14s. per week, or the usual rate of piece-work.

Examination continued—On the Saturday following I went home to Lancaster. At the Preston station I saw Gardner. Saw him again when I got out of the train at Lancaster. He asked me where I thought he could get decent lodgings. I showed him down China-lane, and said he would very likely get decent lodgings there. My brother was with me at this time. Gardner asked if we would go and get a glass of ale with him. I said no; I knew what he was; he was a delegate. He said I had come to defraud people of their work, and to take people back with me. I said I had not come to take people back; I had come for my clothes. He still followed me, and said he would disgrace me wherever I went. Went straight away home and he followed me. Gardner there saw my father. Saw nothing more of Gardner that evening. On Sunday, he got his tea at our house. He said he hoped I would behave myself; he wished me to stop at home. He told my father he hoped he would take care of me, and he would allow me 7s. a week out of the union. In consequence of what passed I did not return to my work on Monday. On Wednesday, I and a person named Douthwaite walked from Lancaster to Preston. I went to Mr. Gradwell (Mr. Naylor's man) and arranged to go to work on the following morning. Next morning I and Douthwaite went to my aunt's for a shirt and muffler. Saw a woman who knew Douthwaite. She took us to a public-house in the Orchard where the delegates meet. Gardner and eight or nine other persons were there. Told Gardner I had got a summons and was forced to attend to it. The summons was for signing my hand to the paper at Mr. Naylor's. Gardner said they wanted piecers at Bolton, and asked me if I would go. I said yes. He gave me 7s. to go to Bolton, and said the delegates had allowed it. Douthwaite, who is a weaver, was to go to the weavers' committee. We went there. Two men went with us. When we got there some men asked where we intended to go, and I said to Bolton. A tall man replied—"Very well; we'll pay Douthwaite's fare." We went to the station, but the train

to Bolton was gone. There was a train just going to Blackburn, and they asked if we would go there. I said I would go if Douthwaite would go too. The tall man paid for Douthwaite's ticket, and I paid for mine out of the 7s. When we got to Blackburn, a man, who, I believe, was named Parkinson, took charge of us. A man in the train told Parkinson to see after us. Parkinson took us to a public-house. There was a meeting at the public-house that evening, and I went to hear it. I left the public-house and walked about all night, and on the following morning went to seek work. The day after I returned to Preston, and have since gone back to Mr. Naylor's.

Cross-examined by Mr. Noble—I was in full work up to the time I left Lancaster on the 4th of March.

Mr. Noble—Under what circumstances were you brought to Preston?

The lad was about to relate how he had been sent for to a cookshop, when,

Mr. Ascroft interfered, and objected that such evidence was inadmissible.

[The audience here began to hiss and evince great disapprobation; whereupon Mr. Ascroft urged the Bench to have the court cleared, which was immediately done.]

The Mayor—What induced you to come to Mr. Naylor's mill?

Witness—Because I heard they had got the ten per cent.

Cross-examination resumed.—The contract with Mr. Naylor was not read over until after I had signed it. I had no consent from my father to leave Lancaster. When I found that Naylor's mill was not in full work, I found I had not come on right terms; but I was told that as I had signed my name I must submit. When I was told that some piecers were wanted at Bolton, I promised I would go. I did not ask the delegates for money to pay my fare, or for the 7s. which I received. I was quite willing to go to Bolton. I was looking for a right place of work, and Mr. Naylor's was not a right place. I was a little put out of the way by things that were going on at Naylor's, and I was not quite satisfied; but I was obliged to submit, because I had signed my name. When I returned from Lancaster on the Wednesday, Gradwell told me there was a summons out against me for leaving work, and I expressed myself very anxious to leave the town. Gardner advised me to get out of the town as quick as I could, and I went away to avoid the summons.

Thomas Pool, police-officer, examined by Mr. Ascroft—Know all the defendants. The spinners' committee-room is at the Farmers' Arms. The weavers' committee-room is at Murphey's Temperance Hotel. Michael Gallaher is secretary to the spinners' committee. Have been present at meetings held in the Orchard. Gallaher, Grimshaw, and Cowell I have seen as speakers at those meetings. I know the spinners' committee-room is at the Farmers' Arms by calling there and seeing men with books, papers, and money on the table. Have seen Gallaher there. I have frequently been to the weavers' committee-room. Have seen Grimshaw, Cowell, Wood, Brocklehurst, and Waddington there. Was there about three weeks ago. Saw Grimshaw at the door. He said the masters had got a great quantity of hands from Belfast, and they had succeeded in sending eighteen back. I understood from the previous conversation that he meant the committee had sent them back. Before that it was said they were people who were inexperienced, and would do the masters no good. Called at the weavers' committee-room last Sunday night, and received two balance-sheets, which were given me by direction of Waddington. Kinder Smith was present. [The balance sheets produced.] I find in one of the balance-sheets—"Victims paid by the executive, 7l. 10s.;" "Removing families, 17l. 14s.;" "Propagandist committee and their assistants, 27l. 14s." That balance-sheet is dated March 15, 1854. On the same night I called at the spinners' committee-room, Farmers' Arms, and obtained a balance-sheet. Did not get it the first time I called, but left a message. On the second visit, I received from the landlord, Smith, the balance-sheet now produced, for the week ending March 12, 1854. On Monday last, I saw Gallaher. Thanked him for the balance-sheets he had left for me with the landlord. "Oh yes," he said; "the reports I left for you—it's all right." Under the head of expenditure I find the following items:—"Expenses and maintenance of many certain parties, 24l. 7s. 2d.;" "Two certain parties to Manchester, 4s.;" "Robert Turner leaving town, 7s.;" "Removing families from Preston, 4l. 8s.;" "Three men sent off, 3s.;" "Printing 3000 double-crown posters ('Strike not Ended'), 15l. 15s.;" "Do. 10,000 placards, 5l. 10s.;" Since the mills were opened, I have observed crowds of people about the mills at meal times, and at night when hands were leaving work. Since Monday, the 27th of February, I have noticed persons about the entrance and exit of the railway stations. New hands arriving in the town have been interfered with. There was great difficulty in getting them along the road sometimes. We have been obliged to clear the way for them. A disturbance took place in Water-lane on Thursday,

the 2nd of March. Stones were thrown, and there was shouting. Was at the Mandlaid Railway station on the following day. There was a great concourse of people collected about the station—I should think several thousands. The people were dispersed as well as they could be got away.

Cross-examined by Mr. Noble—I did not meet with any obstruction at the committee-rooms. Was always in plain clothes when I went there. The men were always very civil to me, and I never heard of any disturbance at the committee-rooms. I can't give you my object in going to the committee-rooms. I sometimes called for reasons which it would not be right to explain. I decline to answer whether I went on my own account or at the instigation of some one else. I understand "victims" to mean people who have been collecting in other towns, and have got turned off for so doing. I can't explain the other items mentioned.

Joseph Mitchell, examined by Mr. Ascroft—I live at Bradford, and have been employed to obtain work-people for the Preston masters. There are a great number of people out of work at Bradford. My proceedings in Bradford and in coming from Bradford to Preston have attracted the attention of other people. At different times in passing through the streets of Preston and also at the station, different parties whom I did not know called out to me "knobstick," "slave-master," and other names. I have been obliged to call in the police to assist me. On Thursday last I was bringing some work-people from Bradford to Preston. George Cowell got into the same carriage I was in at Blackburn. He said—"That's the b—; we'll do for him." I was in Preston on Monday last. After leaving this court, two stones were thrown at me in the street. I was going from the Town-hall to Messrs. Ainsworth's. In consequence of the manner in which I have been watched and of the threat by Cowell, I feel alarmed.

[As Mr. Mitchell, who is a very obese and placid-looking person, testified to his alarm in a very unmoved tone of voice, the declaration created some amusement. Cowell evinced the greatest surprise on hearing the language imputed to him, and subsequently declared that a commercial traveller was in the carriage with them, and he did not doubt being able to find him to contradict the statement.]

Cross-examined by Mr. Noble—I have not always been in the service of the masters, seeking work-people. I once received half a sovereign from some one connected with the delegates to pay my fare to Bradford. I received a letter to take to Mortimer Grimshaw, at Blackburn. I took the letter to him, and proceeded with him to Bradford, and accompanied him to the overseer. There was a meeting held in favour of the operatives whilst I was at Blackburn. I spoke at that meeting. I wrote a letter to John Maclean about a month ago. [Letter produced.] That letter is my writing. [The contents did not transpire.]

Thomas Bingham, bell-man and bill-poster, gave some evidence to connect Gallaher with certain placards which had been posted.

Mr. Ascroft said that the case for the prosecution was closed.

As it was now six o'clock, Mr. Noble requested the Bench to adjourn the court until morning in order that he might have a little time to prepare for the defence; but this proposition was vehemently opposed by Mr. Ascroft. Mr. Noble pleaded that, in addition to his natural exhaustion after the severe labours of the day, it was to be observed that Mr. Ascroft had been acquainted with all the details of this prosecution for some time; whereas he had been called upon at a moment's warning to undertake the advocacy of persons arraigned upon a most serious charge. Mr. Ascroft urged the magistrates to proceed, in order that the cases might go to trial at the present assizes. He would not object to an adjournment for half an hour.

Eventually, the Bench consented to adjourn for an hour and a half; the Mayor remarking that this was merely a preliminary inquiry—the only question being, whether there should be further inquiry or not.

Upon the re-assembling of the court at eight o'clock, Mr. Noble said, that after the short interval he had had to take into consideration the situation of his clients, he had come to the conclusion not to offer any evidence on their behalf, and in a very few words to state what few remarks he had to make, and then to leave the case entirely with the magistrates. He would respectfully call their attention to the charge that was made against these parties in the warrant that he held in his hand. It set forth, that on the 27th of February last, at Preston, these parties did unlawfully conspire, combine, and confederate together, and by unlawfully molesting and obstructing certain persons then and there hired by Joseph Brabin Haslam and John Haslam, cotton spinners, to work in their trade and business, to force and endeavour to force the said persons so hired as aforesaid to depart from their said hiring. The learned gentleman then proceeded to argue that to molest and obstruct must mean something that was accompanied by violence. And so far as they had any evidence before them, it seemed that the

utmost that had been done by these parties, had been to persuade people who might be going to work to leave that employment. In the case of *The Queen v. Siddy and others*, cited in *Burns's Justice of the Peace*, Lord Cranworth, then Mr. Baron Rolfe, thus laid down the law:—

“Workmen may meet and say, ‘We will not work for such and such a sum, and if parties think to employ us on low wages, we agree we will not work for them, and we agree to form a fund and support one another until we get them to come to proper terms.’ It is doubtless lawful for people to agree among themselves not to work except upon certain terms; that being so, I am not aware of any illegality in their peaceably trying to persuade others to adopt the same view. If it is lawful for half a dozen people to agree together and say, ‘We will not work unless Messrs. Jones and Potts (the prosecutors in that case) raise our wages,’ so it is perfectly reasonable to say to a third man, ‘You had better do that too, if they do not use threats to deter him from doing it. My opinion is, that if there were no other object than to persuade people that it was their interest not to work except for certain wages, and not to work under certain regulations, complied with in a peaceable way, it was not illegal.’”

All the testimony went to show that the people had been acting peaceably. That the defendants wished to act peaceably, he thought was clear from all the evidence before the court. It was not because these were people contending with the owners of great masses of wealth, that therefore they could be prejudiced one way or another.

Mr. Blackhurst followed on the same side, and concluded by urging upon the magistrates that no case had been made out to justify them in sending these men to Liverpool.

The magistrates retired for consultation, and upon their return the Mayor said, if Mr. Noble and Mr. Blackhurst had stated that they intended to call witnesses they should have thought it their duty to postpone the case. His worship then pointed out that Lord Campbell and Mr. Justice Erle had expressed opinions differing from those of Lord Cranworth, as cited by Mr. Noble; that considering there were some doubts of fact, and also many questions of law involved, they thought that they should be doing an injustice to the defendants themselves if they were to decide upon the case, and that they had therefore come to the conclusion to send them to answer the charge at the Liverpool assizes.

Bail having been put in for the appearance of the defendants on the following morning, the Court adjourned.

The proceedings on Thursday morning were opened shortly after 9 o'clock, when William Parkinson, Joseph Dolphin, and James Waddington were placed at the dock. Mr. Noble appeared for Parkinson and Waddington, and Mr. Blackhurst for Dolphin.

The offence charged against these defendants consisted in having met at Fleetwood a consignment of 141 Irish hands, being conveyed to Messrs. Birley's mill, and having succeeded in persuading 101 out of that number to return to Belfast. Several witnesses were examined in support of the case, and the reporter for the *Preston Chronicle* deposed to a speech having been delivered by Waddington at a meeting held upon Ribblesdale Moor, on the 7th of March, and from which the following is extracted:—

“In no country or place under God's heaven was there ever a set of men treated like the factory slaves of 1853 and 1854. If the slaves of America happened to have been driven from their cities, and abandoned to starve, to beg, or die, there would have been men sent over to see if they could not do something for them, when they were driven from their homes. But because it happens to be England, we are not allowed the privilege of meeting again. I don't know why this should have been, as long as we were peaceable and quiet. It is said that there have been riots in Preston, but nobody knows anything about them. I don't know anything, but that a few young women had been laughing and smiling. If you will only stick together as you have done hitherto, we will secure the ten per cent. You are not perhaps aware that Birley's ‘knobsticks’ will not come to work this morning, and what for?—because they intend to be clothed like English people, and when they have gotten them well fed, they will not be so bad to get back again to work. It grieved me when I went to Fleetwood to see a set of innocent women and children driven from their own country, and brought to Preston, and grieved by a set of Preston masters. I had not been in Fleetwood five minutes before they told me they would lock me up, because I happened to say I wondered they could for shame to go to Belfast to seduce a lot of people to come over. I said all you who want to go back to Belfast follow me, and I managed to get seventy-eight back again.”

When the case for the prosecution was closed, Mr. Noble said that from the experience they had had during the past three days, he thought that anything he might say would only unnecessarily take up the time of the Court.

The magistrates retired, and after deliberating for about five minutes, the Mayor announced that it was their intention to commit the defendants for trial at the Liverpool assizes.

Mr. Ascroft intimated that there was another party in custody, named Thomas Gregson, but that he had not had time to give proper attention to his case; and perhaps there might be some doubt with regard to the part taken by Gregson. He should

not therefore, at present, offer any evidence against him. Gregson was therefore ordered to be discharged.

After the depositions had been read, the ten defendants were liberated, upon bail being given for their appearance at the Liverpool assizes, and the proceedings terminated for the present.

THE IRISH COMMITTEE.

THE chief witness who has appeared before the Committee on Irish Corruption this week has made himself famous, not for what he has revealed, but for what he properly declined to reveal. Mr. Mowbray Morris, the manager of the *Times*, appeared on Tuesday. Questions were put to him by Mr. G. H. Moore, touching the articles in the *Times* of the 19th September and the 9th February, on the corruptibility of Irish members. He was asked to state the grounds on which those articles were written. The article of the 9th February he said was founded on the speech of Dr. Gray, at Tuam; he could not recollect anything about the other at that moment. But he posed the committee, by declining to answer any questions respecting the authorship of articles in the *Times*, or its secret information. Upon this he was ordered to attend another day.

Accordingly the next day he appeared. In succession Mr. Moore, Mr. Bright, Mr. Butt, and Colonel Bentinck, endeavoured to extract avowals from him as to the truth of the articles in question; the grounds for them; what they meant; how far information in the *Times* office could sustain them; whether he knew of any facts touching the present inquiry; what were his opinions as a manager of the *Times*, and the like, all of which he either refused to answer absolutely, or refused to answer as the representative and with the authority of the *Times*. He wished the committee to understand that he thought himself not bound to answer any questions respecting either of the articles. As Mr. Moore failed, Mr. Bright took up the cause; but he met with no better fortune. Mr. Morris, in reply to Mr. Bright, thus made good his negative position:—

Mr. Bright—Then you are not prepared to lay before the committee any facts whatever on which the conductors of the *Times* undertook to circulate, through 40,000 copies of their journal in one day, so grave and insulting a charge against not an individual member, but the whole body of Irish members?

Mr. Morris—When I say I am not prepared to do it, I do not wish to be understood as saying that it would not be possible to do so; but simply because I do not think it consistent with my duty to do so. And perhaps this is a fitting time for me to state the reasons why I have refused to answer these questions. I submit that to have questions put to me by the committee on the subjects on which they have summoned me to speak would be prejudicial to the press of this country. I think the press of this country—there being no censorship established in England—is amenable to no authority whatever, except the courts of law; not even—and I say it with all due deference and respect—to a committee of the House of Commons. It would be doing, in my opinion, a grievous injury to the press of this country if I were to answer questions of that nature.

Mr. Butt—Would you extend that opinion to statements of facts as well as to expressions of opinion?

Mr. Morris—To everything whatever.

Mr. Butt—You do not say, in your own judgment, what sources of information the *Times* may have had?

Mr. Morris (interrupting)—I have made no statement whatever on the subject. I wish that clearly to be understood.

Colonel Bentinck tried his hand at extracting evidence with a like result.

Colonel Bentinck—You admit partly that the charge of gross corruption against the body of Irish members—

Mr. Morris (interrupting)—I admit nothing more than what appears in the article.

Colonel Bentinck—Then, in your capacity of manager of the *Times* newspaper, you are not prepared to offer any explanation or justification as to that charge?

Mr. Morris—I am not.

Colonel Bentinck—Is this an exception, or is it the custom of the *Times* to bring forward grave accusations like these without being prepared to explain or justify them?

Mr. Morris—I am not prepared to answer that question.

Colonel Bentinck—Then, I may presume the answer would be in the affirmative?

Mr. Morris—That may be the inference which you as an individual may draw; but I hope the committee will be too just to draw it.

Mr. Fotherell, a Dublin solicitor, told how a man named Coleman paid 500*l.* to a Mr. O'Callaghan for resigning a paymastership of constabulary, in order that Coleman might be appointed. Coleman was appointed by Sir William Somerville, who seems not to have been aware of the money bargain.

Mr. G. H. Moore and Mr. Bright gave instances to show that a general belief in the sale of places by Members of Parliament existed in the West of Ireland. A Mr. William Dane charged Mr. Keogh with inducing a gentleman to accept bills to the tune of 1000*l.*, on the promise of giving him a place; that the gentleman was ruined in consequence, and that Mr. Keogh had obtained an appointment for his son. It is fair to state that the statements of this witness rest on reports only.

THE PROTESTANT INQUISITION.

THE inquiry into convents and monasteries, moved and obtained by Mr. Thomas Chambers, has provoked a strong counter-movement among the Roman Catholics, who naturally desire to check this Protestant Inquisition. A large number of gentlemen assembled in St. Martin's-hall, on Tuesday, and made some spirited speeches against the inquiry, counselling the ladies who would be called before the committee to refuse to answer questions affecting their religion. The Honourable Charles Langdale presided, and among the speakers were the Chairman, Sir Edward Blount, Sir John Simon, Mr. Maguire, M.P., Mr. O'Brien, M.P., Mr. Bowyer, M.P., Lord Petre, Colonel Vaughan and others. The following resolutions were agreed to:—

“That the proposed inquiry into religious houses, is held to be an insult to the fathers and brothers of the ladies who are inmates of those houses, an offensive reflection on the whole Catholic body, and a gross outrage on the ladies themselves.”—“That as no case for inquiry had been established, and as no facts in support of such a case exist, the proposed inquiry is a violation of the principles of constitutional law.”—“That the proposed inquiry is an unworthy concession to a faction, animated by a blind hatred of the Catholic religion, and a step towards the subversion of religious liberty.”—“That the proposed inquiry cannot fail to excite the deepest indignation among the Catholic population of Great Britain and Ireland, and to inflame religious animosities at a crisis when the union of all classes of her Majesty's subjects is required to resist a foreign foe.”—“That this meeting pledges itself to use every exertion to oppose the reelection of every member of Parliament who may lend himself to the present attack upon the honour, the rights, and the religion of Catholics.”—“That this meeting regards the threatened extension of the inquiry so as to include likewise the religious houses of men, as demonstrating the necessity of sweeping from the statute-book the last remnant of the penal laws.”

A petition embodying these resolutions was also agreed to.

HEALTH OF LONDON.

(From the Registrar-General's Return.)

THE total number of deaths registered in the metropolis in the week that ended last Saturday, was 1188, and exhibits a decrease on that of the preceding week, when 1243 were registered. In the ten weeks, corresponding to last week, of the years 1844-53, the average number was 1122, which if raised in proportion to increase of population becomes 1284. The deaths returned last week are, therefore, less by 46 than the calculated amount.

Last week the births of 883 boys and 881 girls, in all 1764 children, were registered in London. In the nine corresponding weeks of the years 1845-53 the average number was 1511.

At the Royal Observatory, Greenwich, the mean reading of the barometer in the week was 29.997 in. The mean daily reading was above 30 in. on Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday. The mean temperature rose from 45.8 degs. that of the previous week, to 47.2 degs. in the last, which is 5.7 degs. above the average of the weeks, corresponding to last week, in 38 years. It was above the average last week on every day except Saturday. The highest mean of the week occurred on Monday, and was 52.1 degs., or 10.9 degs. above the average; the lowest was 41 degs. on Saturday, or 0.8 deg. below the average. The highest temperature of the week was 64.2 degs. on Monday, the lowest 51.3 degs. on Saturday. The mean dew-point temperature was 59.6 degs. The wind blew from south and south-west till Thursday, when it changed to north-west and north. No rain fell till Saturday, on which day the fall was 0.13 in.

MISCELLANEOUS.

THE chief Court fact of the week is the levee on Wednesday—the third of the season. The names of military men abound in the list of presentations. Among the Queen's guests this week have been the new brigade officers, Sir Richard England, Lord Lucan, and Sir de Lucy Evans. Prince Albert has presided over two meetings of the Governors of the Wellington College.

The vacant judgeship has been given to Mr. Crowder, Member for Liskeard.

The new candidates for Liskeard are Mr. John Salusbury Trevelyan, Mr. R. W. Grey, private secretary to Lord Palmerston, and Captain Hay Morice Rede.

The Honourable F. Calverley stands for Lichfield in the room of his father, now Lord Calverley.

The Reverend Canon Hamilton has been appointed to the vacant see of Salisbury. He was educated under Dr. Arnold, and took the highest honours at Oxford. When the late Dr. Denison held the living of St. Peter's-in-the-East, at Oxford, Mr. Hamilton was his curate.

An election committee of inquiry into the last Sligo election has reported three acts of bribery made by a partisan of Mr. John Sadleir, but without the knowledge or consent of him or his agents. Mr. Sadleir is declared duly elected.

Count Walewski, the French ambassador, gave a grand dinner, on Tuesday, at his new residence, Albert-gate, to the Duke of Cambridge and Lord Raglan, preparatory to their departure to join the expeditionary army in the East. There were present besides, the Duke of Newcastle, the Marquis of Lansdowne, the Earl and Countess of Clarendon, Viscount Palmerston, Lady Raglan, Lord de Ros, Sir James and Lady Graham, Mr. Sidney Herbert, M.P., and Mrs. Herbert. Lord Palmerston unhappily had the gout and could not go.

The Duke of Cambridge has been elected President of Christ's Hospital, by a majority of 216 to 87 over Lord

Mayor Sidney. The Lord Mayor protests against the whole proceedings. For more than a century it has been usual to select a President from the Court of Aldermen.

The Duke of Argyll presided over the annual charity dinner of the Orphan Working School, at Haverstock-hill, on Tuesday. After dinner nearly 1000*l.* were collected.

Cardinal Wiseman has ordered that a special prayer be used in the Catholic churches that the armies of the Queen may prevail over her enemies.

The Earl of Lichfield, a well-known Whig peer, at whose abode "the Lichfield-house compact" was made, and who was Postmaster-General when Rowland Hill's penny postage plan was carried, died on Saturday.

Mr. Daniell, Commissioner of Bankruptcy at Birmingham, died on Tuesday morning.

A letter from Brody, of the 14th inst., states that Mr. Bell, who was taken prisoner by the Russians in the Black Sea, while serving in an Egyptian steamer, had arrived in that town, accompanied by a Russian officer. He is now on his way to Vienna. He declined an offer to enter the Russian service.

The Oldham people held a spirited meeting on Wednesday, and heartily supported the war. They call upon the Government to obtain material guarantees from Russia for the future peace of Europe.

We are enabled to state that the Turkish Loan for 2,000,000*l.* has been taken by Messrs. Rothschild of this city. The price is 84, the stock to be reimbursed at par in 15 years from date of issue, and it will pay nearly 9 per cent. on these terms.—*Globe*.

The Court of Proprietors of the East India Company held their quarterly meeting on Wednesday. Mr. Lewin moved that the case of the dismissed Bombay judges, Mr. Grant and Mr. Le Geyt, be considered by the Court of Directors. These judges had been removed by Lord Falkland, one because he was in debt, the other because he was said to keep a mistress; yet the Government knew of Mr. Le Geyt's debts when he was appointed, and Mr. Grant never paraded his mistress in public. The previous question was only carried by 24 to 20. Major Oliphant, the chairman, made no statement of the grounds on which the decision of the Directors was based.

The London Training Institution for Adult Male Criminals is deeply in debt. Its expenses are 3000*l.*; its yearly income 600*l.* An appeal has been made to the public for support by a meeting at Willis's Rooms, Lord Shaftesbury in the chair.

The Duke of Buccleuch is redeeming his pledge of more zealous attention to the interests and household comforts of the working classes on his estates. He is at present erecting a range of first-class dwellings at Eckford, in Roxburghshire, to be occupied by the day labourers, foresters, and others on his estate of Eckford Barony. Each house contains five apartments of one kind and another, and, as may be conceived, is constructed on the most approved style of sanitary and household comfort.—*Edinburgh News*.

The anticipations entertained that the cholera had wholly disappeared in Leeds have not been realised. There have within the past few days been a few fatal cases, wholly unconnected with the mill of Messrs. Wilkinson, in which it first made its appearance. The authorities are daily concocting and carrying into effect precautionary measures.

At a recent meeting the Metropolitan Commissioners of Sewers agreed to the following resolution:—"Having regard to the further delay which must occur in the formation of any new commission, and to the very serious injury which must result from a continued suspension of the sewerage works, the commissioners will carry on the duties of the commission, under the powers vested in them by the Sewers Act, until their successors are appointed."

The first portion of the embankment of the Thames on the north or Middlesex shore at Chelsea, and the construction of the approaches thereto and to the suspension bridge to cross the Thames to the new park at Battersea, commenced on Wednesday. It is intended to form an embankment on the south shore of the Thames from Vauxhall to Battersea, and a promenade and carriage drive for the use of the public.

At a sale of autographs, on Wednesday, at Messrs. Puttick and Simpson's, of Piccadilly, a letter of Oliver Cromwell, addressed in his own hand, "For my esteemed friend, Mr. Cotton, pastor to the church at Boston in New England, theise," October 2, 1651, was sold. This interesting letter was written shortly after the battle of Worcester. He alludes to the difficulties he has experienced in treating with some of the Scotch party, "whoe were (I verily thinke) Godly, but thorough weaknesse, and the subtiltye of Sathan, inuolued in interests against the Lord and his people. With what tenderness we haue proceeded with such, and that in synecryte, our papers (which I suppose you haue seen) will in part manifest, and I giue you some comfortable assurance off. The Lord hath marvellously appeared euen against them, and now againe, when all the power was deuolued into the Scottish Kings and the malignant partie, they inuadinge England, the Lord rayned vpon them such snares as the enclosed will shew, only the narrative is short in this, that of their whole armie when the narrative was framed not fise of their whole armie were returned. . . . What is the Lord a doeing? What prophesies are now fulfilling? Whoe is a God like ours?" The letter concludes with many expressions of Christian sympathy. After a vigorous competition, the lot sold for 36*l.* to Mr. H. Stevens, the American agent.

Mr. Frederick de Molyns, formerly member for Kerry, and recently committed for trial on a charge of forgery, died in Newgate last week.

One Jones, a keeper of the lunatics in the Marylebone Workhouse, has been dismissed for drunkenness.

George Hennen, a stonemason, brutally murdered his wife with a hatchet, on Friday last. Hennen appears to be insane; no motive for the crime is apparent; when spoken to he said nothing but "Ah she was a g o l wife to me."

Postscript.

SATURDAY, March 25th.

THE proceedings in the Houses of Parliament, last night, were generally without interest. In the House of Commons many questions were asked, on the common profitless system, occupying time, and yielding no information. Then the House proceeded to the motion of the second reading of the Settlement and Removal Bill, when Mr. STAFFORD moved that it be read a second time this day six months. He pointed out a number of instances in which the bill would act injuriously, and especially condemned it as tending to destroy the existing parochial system, while it would be an act of confiscation as regarded the possessors of real property.

Lord D. STUART seconded the amendment, on the ground that it would be equally injurious to the rate-payers and the poor, urging that the evils of the present system were much exaggerated, and that the changes proposed would only increase what evils there are, especially in large cities.

Mr. KER SEYMER supported the bill on the principle that it would tend to free labour.

Mr. H. DRUMMOND objected to the measure as an addition to that legislation which, since 1834, had been directed against the poor and their right to relief, and would destroy that protection to which they are entitled.

A long but not very interesting discussion followed, which continued till nearly twelve o'clock, when Sir GEORGE GREY suggested that Colonel Dunne had stated that the Government had promised to engraft the case of the abolition of the compulsory removal of Irish paupers on the present bill, to which he objected. This led to a discussion as to whether the debate should not be adjourned to a distant day; but it turned out, on the statement of Sir J. GRAHAM, that the Government had determined to make that question the subject of a separate bill; and, after a skirmish, the debate was adjourned to Monday.

Soon after the House rose, at a quarter to one.

Mr. DRUMMOND asked, early in the evening, if Lord John Russell had any objection to produce the treaty which had been signed between England and France relative to the objects of the impending war?

Lord J. RUSSELL said no treaty had been signed—only notes had passed between the two Governments on the subject, and it would not be proper to produce these.

In the House of Lords the only business of interest was a short discussion between the Law Lords on the second reading of the Common Law Procedure Act, which was purely technical, with the exception that Lord WICKLOW made a serious complaint of the introduction of a clause, giving power to the judges to dispense with oaths of witnesses in cases of conscientious objection.

The Earl of CLANCARTY inquired whether the Government intended to imitate that of Russia, and have a solemn fast and a religious service in order to implore a blessing on our armies in the approaching war?

The Earl of ABERDEEN replied that it would be premature to appoint such a ceremonial, as war was not yet declared. There was in our liturgy a form of prayer for the success of our armies, but it had not been thought necessary to use it yet, as we were not engaged in warfare.

The House adjourned before seven o'clock.

A vast and enthusiastic meeting was held at Blackburn, on Thursday night, to celebrate the liberation of the delegates upon bail. It is expected that the trial will be postponed till the autumn assizes, on the ground of the short time allowed for preparing the defence. On Thursday, 115 immigrants arrived from the south, all unskilled; only about 40 of the persons could be intended for the mills, the remainder being children and aged persons: also 17 Irish from Manchester, a filthy lot, and 13 stocking-knitters from Dent.

The marriage of Prince Joachim Murat with the Princess Wagram, granddaughter of Marshal Berthier, was celebrated on Thursday in the Chapel of the Tuileries, in presence of the Emperor and Empress, Princes Jerome and Napoleon, Princess Mathilde, and the Grand Duchess of Baden. The ceremony was performed by the Bishop of Nancy, Chaplain of the Palace.

The Admiralty have adopted the code signals in their communications by electric telegraph, in order to ensure secrecy for their orders to the outposts.—*Plymouth Journal*.

KNOTTY POINTS.

POLITICS, the other sex, the theatre, the Court, and the last speculation in Stag-alley form club topics in general. Mr. Bright, as usual, made a mistake in attributing an extraordinary amount of consideration to the *habitudes* of these vast social nests respecting "the dinner." Brillat Savarin's assertion that cookery is only for a few—elect, predestined, promethean souls—is as true as ever. The Englishman who lives by eating, naturally resolves all his difficulties in the *cliquets d'assiettes*: that's all. There's a man at the United Service who takes "a power of snuff." He vows all the time that he hates tobacco in any form, but uses Fribourg's mixture because he's deaf from a Canada winter. And, similarly, we dine and excuse our gourmandise.

At the French Ambassador's dinner, the day of departure of Lord Raglan and H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge was only talked of, not settled. The pay and allowances have only just been determined. The Sultan has presented both these gentlemen with six caparisoned chargers, but he's a poor soldier who rides any but his own horse. The rumour that some 3000 or 4000 British troops are to pass through Paris, en route for Marseilles, is quite correct. In 1831, some engineer officers going to the ball at the Hôtel de Ville, prepared for the Lord Mayor and the Exhibition staff, received sundry muddy compliments from the *gamins* of the capital, who lined the streets along which they passed. *Tempora mutantur*, the red and gold uniforms are always indulged now with a hearty cheer of recognition at the Emperor's receptions or parades. The Duc d'Aumale is said to be willing to turn his regards to the Eastern expedition!!! He had a notoriety at the Collège du Roi for fighting in his early days.

Lord Mayor Sidney has damaged himself by his grasp at the President's chair of Christ's Hospital. The choice of the Duke of Cambridge by the majority of the almoners is not toadyism, though it looks like it. There has been war to the knife for the last twenty years between the Foundation and the City authorities, who insist on their rights and won't earn 'em: so the Duke has the dignity.

The Canterbury Theatre is for sale. The house, of all others in the country, which was the fashionable autumn rendezvous for amateur Theatians. Why doesn't Foker or Tom Holmes buy it? *Two Loves and a Life*, at the Adelphi, will be their greatest card since *Victoria*. Mr. Charles Reade, one of infinite fancy and passion, and Mr. Tom Taylor, sensible, strong, with a vast experience and good generous blood in his veins, combine more perfectly than any two dramatists since Beaumont and Fletcher. Mr. Kean had the offer of the play, but wishing to dwarf it into three acts, was refused possession of it. They couldn't have played it at The Princess's. Looking over the programme of the Italian Opera doesn't encourage one. Bonomi will have to do Tamburini's work and his own. It's a pity, as the *Times* says, to let go of Formes. Mr. Gye is a very Herod in his opinions. He's a far more exacting manager than even Mr. Lumley. Mr. G's little finger is thicker than Mr. L's loins. They—that is, the Carlton-terrace clique—tried to induce Mr. Mitchell to manage her Majesty's Theatre, with its box-owners gaping like horse-leeches. Four thousand pounds to be paid down as entrance-money. As the factions can't agree for their common interest, the house remains, like the Temple of Janus, closed. There's to be no Opera war.

The *America* yacht is for sale on the 13th next month. Clipper as she is, it is not every one who can manage her, keep her dry, or live comfortably on board. There's some like Camper of Gosport to build a comfortable sea-bout.

There has been a serious discussion at the Horse-Guards about permitting the soldiers' beards to grow. Mr. Macaulay's opinion rested on one of Spence's notes, "The heads of Romans are without beards, all the time between the elder Brutus and Adrian, except a head of Nero and of two or three before him, who let theirs grow on some melancholy occasion."

There are sustainable doubts about the authenticity of some of the specimens in the collection of clay and wax models now on view at Marlborough House: the original study in terra cotta, by Raffaele, for his Jonah, stated to be worth 1500*l.*, is a reality, though a copy or two may be found in a shop near the Bibliothèque Mazarin, and perhaps in Wardour-street. Also let one remark on the increasing number of almost indetectable forgeries of letters and MS. bearing signatures of royal and other notorious personages. I have seen a bundle of army warrants, temp. 1649, exactly like the original save in the manufacture of the paper.

When is the unfinished block of new building between Chancery and Fetter-lanes to be occupied as a Record repository? 'Tis a massy-looking house, with iron doors, iron window-frames, iron staircases, and fire-proof walls. Has Sir Francis Palgrave, né Cohen, ever been under synagogical sentences of increment for his change of faith? Else which of the authorities, like a burnt child, breads the fire?

Gide and Baudry, of the Rue Bonaparte, are publishing a noble edition of Rembrandt similar to those in our British Museum, at Amsterdam, and in the Bibliothèque Nationale. The re-impression of these marvels of chiaro-scuro (it's the last

The Leader.

SATURDAY, MARCH 25, 1854.

Public Affairs.

There is nothing so revolutionary, because there is nothing so unnatural and convulsive, as the strain to keep things fixed when all the world is by the very law of its creation in eternal progress.—DE. ARNOLD

RUSSIAN POLICY AND ENGLISH IMPOLICY.

IN the newly-published correspondence, hitherto kept secret, our Ministers recover credit for independence and straightforwardness, at the expense of their credit for sagacity and vigour. We do not indeed fall in with the accusation that they were monstrously credulous because they believed the specific assurances given them by the Emperor. According to the usages and data of the respectable society in which they have lived, they had some right to lay aside suspicions excited by mere movements of troops or any other unexplained facts. Sir Hamilton Seymour being a diplomatist, was naturally more alive to signs of duplicity in the Emperor Nicholas, and repeatedly hinted that the Emperor might be pretending to feelings which he only acted; but it is the custom of respectable society not to carry duplicity to extremes, not to place falsehood in the *direct* form, and especially not to risk frauds which can be instantly exposed. The idea of getting up a vast plot, in order to set the potentates of Europe at loggerheads, and to abuse their minds as to the honesty of one Royal Government, while the rest should be kept aloof by jealousy or delusion, is a course of action which, in this country, belongs to criminals and disreputable persons; and the whole character of the training on the part of English statesmen must naturally incline them to disbelieve the possibility that any person well brought up could so risk his personal reputation and his position as to enter into frauds of the kind. The Emperor had always appeared to be a respectable person; he professed religious sentiments; he cultivated polite relations with other courts, as with personal friends; he was rather attentive to the social duties with brother monarchs and sister monarchs. In short, he dressed well, kept his carriage, limited his improper conversation to the proper time—after dinner, went to church on Sunday, and left his card at the proper places and on proper occasions. Now, when such a person appeared before English Ministers, claiming to be believed “as a friend and a gentleman,” they naturally supposed that he understood the responsibilities of his high position, and that it was impossible for him to go so far wrong as to be actually a criminal—a low, fraudulent criminal, such as would deserve to be sent to Botany Bay or to “penal servitude.” He differs from us, they might say, in his opinions, and even in his habits; but there are differences between men; and it would have seemed foolish as well as unjust to suspect him of crimes, just as it would have been to expect that the late Duke of Newcastle, who claimed to do what he liked with his own, and who carried out his claim practically in a manner harsh to his dependents and his family, would one day figure in the dock at the Central Criminal Court.

Yet that which our Ministers would suppose to be impossible has occurred. The mistake they made is common to all English

society, and we suspect to all society bred up in quiet times. It is that of believing that things not usual are not possible; or of believing that things which are not physically impossible are morally so. It is a mistake. The only impossibility is that which is counter to the laws of physics; that which is physically possible is also morally possible.

It is lucky that the country, as well as its statesmen, has discovered that truth in its application to Russia; or the Czar might have carried physical possibilities further than he has yet had the opportunity to do. English Ministers have been called credulous, but their real defect was incredulity; and by virtue of that incredulity the Emperor had made great way in the process of bamboozling them. With extraordinary perseverance, with a comprehensiveness of view “worthy of a better cause,” he had set on foot a general plot to explain away any cry of distress that might arise from his victim, by preparing English statesmen to believe that Turkey would call out “wolf,” in order to be rescued from her honest liabilities. He had tried to set the powers of Europe against each other, by summarily appropriating Austria, hypocritically wheedling England, malignantly pointing out France as a dangerous adventurer, and tacitly treating the acquiescence of Prussia as a matter of course. Affecting to act as companion of England in putting on an air of good-fellowship, he perpetrated the old “dodge” of getting England to let him see the course which she would pursue in reference to Turkey; and, in short, by pretending great frankness, he combined the spy with the conspirator, and supposed himself to have mastered the game in which all the Powers of Europe were to be deceived. He thought it quite possible to compass great objects of empire by the arts of the common swindler, and the fact that English statesmen believe such an incident impossible, was one of his greatest resources.

It is true that English statesmen saw through the basest part of this attempt. When he alluded to France, saying that “it looks as if she tried to embroil us all”—observed that there were circumstances at Constantinople and Montenegro “extremely suspicious”—hinted that he would assist Turkey against France, but that England might take Candia and Egypt if she liked—he betrayed his belief in the turpitude of human nature, and provoked a distinct refusal. It is strange that statesmen did not see in such proposals the full turpitude of the man before them.

To such a man they had no scruple in opening their own heart. Sir Hamilton Seymour explained how England had tried to moderate the action of France; how she had tried to obtain satisfaction in Constantinople for Russia; and declared that he could substantiate his assertion by written evidence,—in other words, that he could prove to the Emperor that England was acting just as her enemy could have wished. Lord Clarendon instructed Sir Hamilton Seymour to tell the Emperor that “Her Majesty’s Government were anxious above all things to preserve peace;” that they “could not look without alarm” to a European congress, on account of “the jealousies which would be invoked;” that they apprehended a revision of the treaties of 1815, if there should be a European war; and that they dreaded questions in the West, as “every great question in the West assumed a revolutionary character, and would embrace a revision of the entire social system, for which the Continental Governments are certainly in no state of preparation.” In other words, they let the Czar see that they were under the very fears which he had tried to excite.

Now, why should they have had those fears? It is true that if there were an European

word, after all, affected as it seems) will be produced by photography; and thus such an illustration as the *Pièce de Cœur Floriss*, of which the present value is not much less than 50*l.*, may be obtained in this new edition for five shillings.

If the pilory were a public punishment (and it’s a pity it has been put aside), the miscreant contractor who would provender artillery horses with dead lamb, even in spring, would be voted there by public diadain. There’s dire apprehension on all sides by the Proveditori of the Committee of Inspection. Since the days of Alderman Scales, the butchers and salesmen haven’t suffered so severely at the strict scrutiny promised them. Throughout the entire marine service there needs close investigation of their supplies. Emigrant and transport ships should all turn out their larders and ships’ stores. I have a nephew in a merchant vessel, who lives during two-thirds of the voyage on coffee and smoke! The only good meals he gets are stolen from the steward’s pantry.

Badgered as I may be by Committees on Privilege, I hardly like to repeat what I hear of the leader of the Protectionists. Kealey, in the new play at the Adelphi, says, “Talking politics is like drink: it grows upon you.” It is proclaimed abroad that Mr. Disraeli’s speech is the failure of the week. He failed to make the House listen—only the walls were unexhausted. He is in the “delirium tremens” stage of politics. His drams are killing him as a public man. Somebody once told Sheridan that brandy destroyed the coats of the stomach; “then my stomach,” said the wag, “must go in its waistcoats.” Mr. Disraeli is beginning to debate in his shirt sleeves.

There has been a fresh attempt to open the question of delaying officers ordered on foreign service until the claims of their creditors have been settled! The impudence of Issachar!! Israel and Levi applied to the Chief Baron to grant the detainer necessary, in the first instance, against certain gentlemen of the first contingent. But the grand old judge told the locusts “that the soldiers were obeying the call of their country,” and not leaving their native land to evade anybody’s claims—assurers or otherwise; so there’s been a rare lamentation in Jewry, Old and New.

Government is busy with its inquiries on all aides respecting improvements in every description of artillery. There is a whole army of *employés* from the Patent-office collecting specifications of inventions in fire-arms and cannon lately registered.

Captain Nolan, whose sensible book on Cavalry is worth everybody’s notice that cares for a soldier or his steed, has made an impression on the authorities. Why not appoint him as inspecting aide of accoutrements generally for the service?

I can’t hear much about the Great Exhibition Commissioners. Is Mr. Pennethorne, very clever and economical, to be the architect of the English Sorbonne at Brompton? The master mind to this body moves also the society in John-street, Adelphi. I hear of him, though I seldom see him, wherever I go. So quiet; subtle as the ex-Secretary of the Poor-law Board, whom happily I, as one of the poor people, am glad to leave in the London kennel, which he has undertaken to clean.

The old panorama of the Overland Mail, as far as the arrival at Malta, is to be re-employed in the forthcoming illustrations of the route to the seat of war in the Black Sea.

Hector Berlioz commends precisely, and with emphasis, the singing of Bonnehée at the French Opera, in Spontini’s *Vestale*, as that of a pure, fresh, and charming baritone, better than any he has heard during the last twenty-five years. Pray that he may come over here, at what price he will.

The Artists’ General Benevolent Institution places Disraeli in the chair at the anniversary dinner on the 8th of April. That is his place: he’s a real artist about men and manners; paints clever portraits, and has ever at hand the accessories of the studio.

M. M.

TO READERS AND CORRESPONDENTS.

It is impossible to acknowledge the mass of letters we receive. Their insertion is often delayed, owing to a press of matter; and when omitted it is frequently from reasons quite independent of the merits of the communication.

No notice can be taken of anonymous communications. Whatever is intended for insertion must be authenticated by the name and address of the writer; not necessarily for publication, but as a guarantee of his good faith.

We cannot undertake to return rejected communications. All letters for the Editor should be addressed to 10, Wellington-street, Strand, London.

Communications should always be legibly written, and on one side of the paper only. If long, it increases the difficulty of finding space for them.

The Sixth Article by Mr. James Lowe on the Strikes and Lock-out is unavoidably omitted this week.

war, France must inevitably take a first place in that war, and that she might honourably seek to discharge herself from the obligations which were forced upon her, with so much humiliation, in 1815. And why should not France enjoy an opportunity, not created by herself, but enabling her at once to retrieve her position and the peace of Europe.

We can imagine only one reason why: it might be that the relinquishment of the treaties of 1815 would be derogatory to the honour of England. It so happens, however, that those treaties have been broken by Austria, Russia, Prussia, and Naples,—almost every important state on the Continent; perhaps we may say with the exception of France, but we could only say certainly with the exception of England. If there is any injury to England in the breaking of those treaties, she has endured it at the hand of every power except France.

But, in the present case, France and England are together; they act in co-operation; both sides of Waterloo are in alliance, and the opportunity is offered to England for revising such mistakes of 1815 as made her the ally of injustice to enforce undue humiliation upon her great rival. By the blessing of Providence those two countries, which united are greater than all the rest of Europe put together, have forgotten these old quarrels in a generous alliance; and if the treaties of 1815 be revised, it will be in a wiser spirit, inflicting humiliation on neither of the two, but adding to the glory of both. Russia might dread the revision of the treaties of 1815; but if any Englishmen are alarmed at it, their sensitiveness must be excited through sympathies with Absolutist interests far more than with any interest that England can have in the matter.

What can England fear? States have changed on the continent of Europe; kingdoms have been erased from the map, new crowns have been created, dynasty has succeeded dynasty; nay, next door to us, kingdom, republic, and empire, and kingdom, republic, and empire over again, have succeeded each other, without the slightest shock to the safety or institutions of England, with nothing but a new stimulus to that internal life which has developed itself in new freedoms, new wealth, and new power of influencing nations for the good of mankind. Suppose Mazzini were established in Rome and Kossuth in Pesth, how could England suffer? Would the vast English commerce with Rome, or the immense trade with Pesth, be out off by the accession of those gentlemen in lieu of Pius the Ninth, who cannot pay his way and cannot call his capital his own; or in lieu—

But at present Austria is our ally, and we will not allude to painful possibilities. We are only calling to mind that from these eventualities English interests can fear nothing. Nothing like that which they might fear if Turkey, now governed by free trade and a monarch who shows some sense of the comity of nations, were thrown into the possession of prohibitory Russia, whose constant policy it is to labour at the enslavement of sea and land. Put Russia instead of the Sultan, and England might suffer to the extent of 3,000,000 a-year exports. Put Mazzini instead of Pius the Ninth, and England would not lose a single sovereign—she might gain a new export trade.

But supposing that England fears from revolution, what has she to fear from the establishment and extension of constitutional monarchy, such as her influence and fostering encouragement might rear in other states of the Continent besides Sardinia?

No, if England has anything to fear, it is only that her own statesmen may not be equal to the opportunity; that they might

govern England—we cannot say on Russian principles—but on the principles upon which Russia would like to see England governed. English interests can only be damaged by the want of heads and hands firm enough so to act in the storm of autocratic revolution as to develop on the Continent those liberties of conscience, citizenship, and commerce which would constitute the outposts of our own liberties.

WHAT IS A CONSPIRACY?

We are almost afraid that, when we compared some late proceedings in Preston to a *coup d'état* we supplied certain parties there with a very dangerous hint: a hint, too, which they have not been slow to improve upon. When we characterised the reading of the Riot Act, and the suppression of public meetings within the borough, as very dangerous and very foolish proceedings, and likened them in point of tyranny and sinister motive to the celebrated *coup d'état*, we certainly had no idea that a closer, a more dangerous, and a more abominable parody of that event was imminent. The parallel is now complete. Put George Cowell for M. Thiers, Mortimer Grimshaw for Cavaignac, and the French drama is much better adapted than many translations for the metropolitan theatres. The Preston police, taking a lesson from their Parisian *confrères*, appear to have shrouded the preparations for their spring in great obscurity. They pounced upon the delegates simultaneously, and at night. Whether Waddington was permitted to shave, under the supervision of a constable, or Grimshaw drew his sword and came out in his nightcap (*à la Cavaignac*), or Cowell put supposititious cases to the sergeant as to what would be done if he were to kill him (*à la Thiers*), does not very clearly appear; but it is quite certain that if the two following days were not spent in a *battue* of the populace and a *fusillade* up and down the Fishergate, it was not the fault of the authorities.

What then have these men done that they should be dragged off to gaol in this manner, and that the tranquillity of a whole community should be wantonly imperilled? Mr. Ascroft, the Town Clerk and prime minister to the Cotton Lords, answers that they have been guilty of a conspiracy. And conspiracy to do what? Why (using the terms of the warrant) to molest and obstruct certain persons hired by cotton spinners to work in their trade and business, to force and endeavour to force the said persons so hired, as aforesaid, to depart from their said hiring. And this is the charge which the associated masters of Preston have thought it wise to prefer before a court of justice, against men who have been openly and avowedly fighting them for six months past, and who have constantly expressed and exhibited the most strenuous desire to keep within the boundaries of the law! That the capital and labour of Preston have been arrayed against each other, and that the battle has now raged long with doubtful success, are facts which all England has known, and every feeling man has deplored. That the battle has been conducted on both sides with dogged resolution, and, on the side of the operatives, with incredible fortitude and most praiseworthy calmness, are facts to which we have often directed attention. The parties have hitherto fought upon their own resources, calling in no assistance beyond the pecuniary aid of their respective sympathisers; but now capital has appealed to the law for protection, and that upon grounds so trivial, that we can take it in no other sense than a practical confession of weakness.

What have the alleged *molestation and obstruction* amounted to? Certainly not to violence, or anything approaching to violence: that

is not even pretended on the part of the prosecution. It appears, indeed, (so far as the case has yet been investigated) never to have exceeded persuasion. The masters brought unemployed people into the town; and when they came there, these men talked to them, fed them, gave them money, and sent many of them back. Are these illegal acts? The Mayor has his doubts, and talks about the conflicting opinions of Lord Cranworth and Mr. Justice Erle. Lord Cranworth has said that what one man may do legally, he may persuade another to do; and as he may legally refuse to work except for a given sum, he may persuade another man to adopt his view. This seems morally fair; and all we can say is, that if it is *not* the law, the repeal of the Combination Laws is a dead letter. Men never combine simultaneously. The aggregation is always gradual. One man thinks that wages should be higher, and he persuades ten men; those ten persuade others in their turn, and that is the process by which every combination comes about. But it would seem that Mr. Justice Erle has thrown some doubts about this view of the law, and that it is upon these doubts that the fate of the defendant delegates hangs. We may admit frankly that we do not anticipate that any judge or jury in the land will punish men unskilled in the law for an offence against laws, upon the construction of which learned judges themselves have differed; and, so far as we have an opportunity of judging, the evidence does not seem to be of a character likely to weigh very heavily against any of the defendants. We can anticipate no other result than an easy and triumphant acquittal; and then, we would ask, what will be the position of the prosecutors?

But even supposing their wildest hopes to be realised, and these men to be imprisoned for some short period, in what respect will their case be bettered? Do they suppose that when these men are removed the agitation will cease? Vain hope! They have yet to learn that, in all such movements, the best men are in the background, and that, if these men be shut up, wiser, craftier men will take the lead, whom they will seek to entrap in vain. They have yet to learn the force of an Englishman's love of fair play, and to discover that persecution only arouses a storm of execration and hostility against the persecutors in this land of the free. They have yet to learn that all mean and petty stratagems (like Curran's doves) inevitably fly back to the place whence they came. Perhaps it may be urged that all they desire to effect is the future protection of immigrant hands from similar arts of persuasion. The best answer to this will be found in the evidence adduced for the prosecution; the delegates having consistently declared, ever since the beginning of March, that they will "flit no more back," that they will let the masters enjoy "the scum of the earth," and so forth, without interference; and it is perfectly well known that during the last three weeks the immigrant hands have not been interfered with, either by persuasion or otherwise. To carry out their intent, the masters must issue an ukase, that all persons who arrive in Preston must stop there for ever. If they will do that, and get it ratified by a court of law, they will have succeeded; but their success will be Russian, not English.

GOVERNMENT RECONSTRUCTION OF THE UNIVERSITIES.

WE were able, last week, to furnish our readers with a short abstract of the Government scheme for the improvement of the University of Oxford. An attentive consideration of the details of the Bill confirms us in

the opinions we then expressed as to its general merits. If it falls short, in some respects, of the point at which public opinion has arrived, it is fairly entitled to the praise bestowed upon it by its promoters, as a large and comprehensive measure. With a scrupulous regard for the interests of the University, the Government refrains from any interference beyond what was imperatively demanded by the necessities of the case, but we believe that the proposed measure of reform will turn out to be of a more sweeping character than might at first sight appear. Hitherto, for instance, the government of the University has been in the hands of a Board consisting of the heads of colleges, but chosen without the slightest reference to their qualifications for the office. They were called upon to preside over the studies, the discipline, and the general interests of the University, without a single claim to respect on the ground of superiority in wisdom, learning, or experience. Under a system professedly representative, the executive power represented nothing but the caprice or prejudice of one among the many elements which compose the University. As a matter of fact, the persons thus elected have been distinguished only by the contumacious obstinacy of their resistance to any measures of reform, and the vehemence with which they contended for the preservation of their usurped authority. If Lord John Russell's bill is carried out, this anomaly will be swept away. The Hebdomadal Board is to be replaced by a body which will represent, in due proportion, the different classes and interests in the University. The new council is to consist of twenty-four members. The Vice-Chancellor and the two proctors are to be members *ex-officio*; one head of a college, two professors, of whom one shall always be of the theological faculty, are to be appointed by the Chancellor, and six heads of colleges, six professors, and six senior members of Convocation are to be appointed by the Congregation—a body composed of the chief officers and teachers in the University, and whose resuscitation constitutes one of the most striking and practical features of the Government plan. Once again, after centuries of misgovernment, the theory of representation will be carried out in practice, and Oxford will be ruled by all men who possess her confidence. We still, indeed, object to any patronage being vested in the Crown. We are certain that the Universities ought, and we believe that, under the new system, the University of Oxford will be in a fit position to be entrusted with the full right of self-government, and we are sorry that the appointment of any office should be retained in the hands of the Chancellor.

The power to open private halls, under the license of the Vice-Chancellor, by a senior member of the University, will introduce large classes of the people who have hitherto been excluded from admission. The opening of fellowships, with an exception in favour of public schools, the permission to absolve a certain number of the fellows from the obligation to take holy orders, and the restrictions to be placed upon the tenure of fellowships—are points in the new bill which deserve all praise, but on which our space will not allow us this week to offer any comments. We cannot, however, omit to notice that clause which confers full power on the colleges to alter their statutes, to abolish the oaths imposed on fellows, and to set aside a portion of their property for purposes other than those for which it was originally decreed, but still in conformity with the intention of the founder. It is strange that this proposal, which seems like an act of common sense, should excite so much disapprobation among the Oxford Heads, whose exercise of the supreme autho-

rity in the University is an act of barefaced usurpation. But the whole question is now removed from their jurisdiction. The first clause in the Bill provides for the appointment of five commissioners, whose duty it will be to reject or sanction, in the name of Parliament, any measure that may be taken by the colleges for carrying out the intentions of Government. Two years are still to be allowed for self-reform, in accordance with the provisions of the new Bill, but after that time a recusant college will be placed in the hands of the commissioners, armed with the authority of Parliament, and merciless in their hatred of corruption and abuse.

We deeply regret that Lord John Russell should have hesitated, at one stroke, to nationalize Oxford by the abolition of tests. This omission is the fatal mistake in the measure. In spite of his own conviction, and the manifest tendency of public opinion, Lord John has yielded a weak submission to the influence of his colleagues, and has enfeebled, if he has not lost, his hold upon some of his most earnest and valuable supporters. Thus much, however, we can offer in excuse. To insert a clause in favour of Dissenters might have occasioned the loss of the Bill, and we are convinced that Oxford, reformed after the fashion proposed by Lord John Russell, will be unable to resist the tendencies of the age, and will be in a much better position for carrying out her own will. In short, the measure is too good to be lost, and we accept it as an earnest of better things to come.

WHAT SHOULD BE PUBLISHED.

IN taking exception to our argument against suppressing particular as well as general description of certain cases, the *Globe* appears to us in part to have misconceived our argument. Our contemporary does not believe that the suppression of details has any effect but to disappoint a morbid appetite, and to prevent young men in provincial towns from imitating "fast" men about town. Our contemporary argues that such details are not worth publishing; but that it is the names of the persons who are implicated which ought not to be screened from publicity. Now there is some truth in this objection. In each case it must be known which details are essential, and which are not so—a question to be decided by the judgment of the reporter; and it will be a matter of art in the reporter to convey only such information as is needed, and so to state the facts as to convey the information only to such readers as can use it. Beyond that, we agree with our contemporary in thinking it is mischievous as well as superfluous to give particulars.

We also agree with our contemporary that our social state is not one of universal profligacy, and that extreme profligacy is exceptional; but we do insist that a practical disregard of natural and instinctive moral feeling, as well as conventional morals, is habitual with a large class in society, and that, not "universal," but wide-spread corruption is veiled by the disguise of an hypocrisy which pretends that the case is not so.

The suppression of reporting to which we particularly refer consists in hushing up such cases, or softening the confession which they imply by stifling the details which stamp the true character of the case. It is not only particular gentlemen whom it is important to expose, it is not only particular cases that it is desirable to lay open; but it is above all desirable to check that increasing habit of society which licenses corruption by a common consent to hush it up.

To give an instance. It is a common expression that So-and-so "is not a marrying man." The phrase runs glibly off the tongue;

people know what it means; So-and-so may conventionally fall in with the usual dogmas on the subject of moral conduct, and will not be treated as a shameless hypocrite. In this case, So-and-so habitually breaks not only the statute law of conventional society, but the common law of human nature. He evades the statute when he does not defy it, and outrages natural justice and healthy feeling. By the habit of treating him as if he respected the laws dictated by society and by nature, not only is he allowed an immunity which he does not deserve, but society corrupts itself in paltering with its own conscience. The hushing-up system practically teaches the frightful lesson that men may take what license they please, if they will pay "the tribute which vice pays to virtue."

The converse of that conclusion is, that those who depart from a law thus violated and depraved, but who do abide by the dictates of conscience, are treated as outlaws.

Further to re-enforce our original meaning, let us say that in many cases it is the particulars alone that buckle up conviction to a sense of the necessity for action. It requires a novelist, a dramatist, or an artist of some kind, to realise all that is conveyed in a general statement; to ordinary minds a generality conveys little. So it was in the case of New South Wales. The crimes and horrors of convictism in that country had been denounced, over and over again, in general terms; and the system continued to be tolerated both in the colony and at home. But when a dozen English gentlemen were got together in a room,—when they were made to confront the hideous details in each other's presence, they saw the physical effects of revulsion in flushed cheeks, and countenances moody with horror and disgust; and then, but not till then, they felt that "really these things must not go on." These things accordingly were stopped. Generalities never rouse the feelings, and logic never has a hundredth part of the effect that hearty feeling has in bringing men to the point of action.

CHURCH LEGISLATION.

THERE have been two measures recently introduced to the notice of Parliament connected with Ecclesiastical affairs. One proposes to set free the Church in the colonies; the other proposed to relieve the Church of England of a great scandal; both peculiarly illustrate the anarchical state of British opinion on these vital subjects.

It will be remembered that last session the Archbishop of Canterbury carried a bill through the House of Lords enabling the Colonial Church to regulate its own affairs; but that, as it came down to the House of Commons at the close of the session, it was thrown out. However, Government then pledged itself to introduce a bill on the subject, and that pledge has been redeemed. In some respects the bill of the Solicitor-General differs from that of the Primate, but substantially it would accomplish what is just and desirable, namely, the removal of certain disabilities that affect the colonial clergy. By an old act of Parliament, passed when there were no British colonies, the clergy were forbidden to meet without the royal permission. It is easy to conceive that as there is no other connexion between the Colonial and the Home Church, except a spiritual one, and no connexion between the colonial state authorities and the colonial churches, this disability entails many and serious inconveniences. All other sects in the colonies can regulate their affairs; but the laws of England follow the clergy of the Established Church, and preclude them from the benefits of concert, so essential in ecclesiastical matters. It must be obvious that this

disability constitutes a serious grievance. The bill proposes to remove it, and to do nothing more. It confers no powers on the clergy to enforce their decisions or regulations in any matters: it is no interference with the colonists; it only places the clergy and the laity of the Church of England on the same footing as Roman Catholics, Wesleyans, and other sects.

How is this reasonable proposition met? What persons, above all others, put themselves forward to oppose it? Who but the Nonconformists? Mr. Hadfield thinks it will disturb the religious peace of the colonies. Do the proceedings of the Wesleyans disturb that peace? Mr. Miall can see a political tie between the Colonial Church and the Home Church which bars the liberty of the colonial clergy. What is the political tie? Surely, identity of belief is not a "political" bond! In the colonies the clergy are virtually a voluntary sect of Christians, professing the tenets of the Established Church of England. It is painful to see those who claim liberty at home, who do not admit that a Jew should be excluded from Parliament because he is accidentally shut out by a statute, taking advantage of a similar accident and an obsolete statute, to fetter the members of a Church with whose doctrines they do not agree. Surely this is not acting up to that broad principle of religious liberty which would give unto others the full measure of freedom which it arrogates to itself.

The next opponents of the measure are Low Churchmen, like Mr. Thomas Chambers and Mr. Arthur Kinnaird. Their bugbear is Convocation. They fear that the example of a free Colonial Church may lead to a free Home Church. And so it may. But is it any reason for not freeing the Colonial Church that the Home Church might not be able to resist a good example? Surely the good folks in the colonies are not to suffer because the good people of England may be weak enough to profit by their successes!

It would be well if all sides of the House looked less to consequences and more to principles; especially in this matter of religious freedom. If principles are right, consequences will take care of themselves.

The other bill has been thrown out by a sturdy majority, who set the interests of property above those of religion. As the discussion on the Colonial Clergy Disabilities Bill shows that the Nonconformist mind is not ripe for full freedom, so the debate which ended in the rejection of the Simony Law Amendment Bill proves that respectable Englishmen can see no evil in a profitable scandal. For our parts, we confess Mr. Phillimore's bill does not go far enough—it ought to extend to advowsons as well as next presentations. A man does not buy an advowson without intending to present somebody to the benefice; and it is as much the purchase of the presentation as of the advowson. Into that question, however, we need not go. One hundred and thirty-eight English gentlemen have declared by their votes that they do not think it wrong to sell for gold the cure of souls. They stand upon that principle; their religion stands upon another. But in these matters not the apostle, one of the founders of their religion, but Simon Magus is the authority they follow. Mr. Butt actually grounded his opposition to the bill on the violation of the rights of property it would perpetrate. "Next presentations," he said, "are subjects of mortgage and settlement!"

If you make the sale of the cure of souls unlawful, "creditors will lose their security—a security that has the sanction of law." Think of that! Sweep out the Temple, and the money-changers will lose their right in an established nuisance! The House cheered

the appeal to the sanctity of the law; and the one hundred and thirty-eight voted for an ecclesiastical sin, in order that creditors might not lose their security! The office of the Church, they will confess, is sacred, but more sacred human law; infinitely more sacred gentlemen's property. The hundred and thirty-eight, we fear, might call us pharisaical if we were to remind them of another security, not a temporal one, which their respect for Mammon may place in peril.

We have always said, and every day events prove the truth of our assertion, that the relic of the Church of England is property. Here is a half-proposition to abolish simony, and it is defeated because it will destroy lay patronage, annihilate the security of the creditor, and violate the rights of property. Could there be a more full confession? Either simony is not an ecclesiastical crime, or here are one hundred and thirty-eight participators in its guilt.

RAILWAYS IN INDIA.

THE Government, says an old American cotton-planter residing on a farm in India, is said to be one of check, and it certainly does check every energy in the individual or advancement in the enterprise, only omitting to check dishonesty in office. That duty is reposed in everybody and therefore in nobody. The system checks everything unofficial and nothing official. It has been a Government to check agricultural improvement, irrigation, railways, and even cotton cultivation; though it has only recently begun to check malversation of the post-office on behalf of the Guicowar of Baroda. The Governor-General in Council sends to England "a very able, lucid, and comprehensive minute," on the subject of railways and their development in India, recommending specifically certain works; the directors in Leadenhall-street apply to the minute the terms which we have just given, and then sanction some local and fragmentary lines—sanctioning in Bombay, for example, "a line to Poonah, and probably to some further point in the Bombay territories, when the best route over the Ghaut to that town has been correctly ascertained." This is quite in the style of the Indian Government. It has been large in conception, it has been paltry in execution. It has comprehensive railways on paper; and petty fragments of lines on the ground. Russell Ellice, J. Oliphant, and other co-signatories of the Court of Directors in London, urge, in reply to "our Governor-General in Council," that "no time be lost" in giving to India the advantages of a ready and speedy intercommunication, and then they sanction a bit-by-bit railway construction, which is the very way to consume time.

The same paper which contains these despatches and notifications from the Calcutta Government Gazette, brings us the information that the last English railway contractor has left India. The gentleman had come away, it is believed, as others had done before, with few inducements to return; and what is it that drives them off their work? What but the preposterous conduct of the officials, who actually bury their contemplated railways in heaps of red tape and foolscap, scrawled over with "lucid" reports and directorial sanctions on the subject? There is now, we believe, no English contractor engaged on public works in any part of India: a fact that speaks volumes. No doubt capital could be found in India, and science could be procured from England; but the practical experience of the contractor is required to give the railway system its business-like extension.

Now there are two immediate obstructions to that extension. In the first place, there must be an immense amount of writing upon the subject; contractors must stand by while the officials rival Gibbon in the volume of their composition, but not in closeness or pregnancy. The second and still more fatal obstruction is the bit-by-bit character of the progress. The last gentleman who has returned—Mr. Jackson—was superintending the construction of a viaduct and two tunnels on four miles of railway beyond Tannah—detained in a paltry work, while he might have been superintending large tracts at the same time; the pitiful waste of machinery on a small scrap, therefore, being the worst economy to the State and a gross injustice to the contractor.

It is not that Indian railways are likely to be unsuccessful. Everybody says they will succeed; even the Court of Directors declare it; and experience confirms the statement. "The little plaything near Bombay," as our contemporary the *Bombay Gazette* calls it, has furnished some very instructive statistics. Before this line from Bombay to Tannah was established, it was generally considered, in spite of English experience to the contrary, that passenger traffic would not pay the working expenses. In point of fact, however, the line, which has not yet conveyed any goods, has returned a dividend of nearly 8 per cent. per annum. Although the line begins in one of the Indian capitals, it goes to a place of no particular mark—has a terminus, as it were, at St. Albans: nevertheless the statistics are satisfactory. In the eight and a half months, during which it had been open, the number of passengers had undergone a very curious change: beginning at 22,000 in the half of April, it receded to 28,500 for the whole month of August, and then rose to 40,000 for October, and 61,000 for December; the receipts, of course, corresponding. The most remarkable increase, perhaps, is that in the third-class passengers. Beginning at 14,000, and progressively rising to 54,000, it shows that the humbler class of the population were quite able to acquire the habit of railway travelling; and thus it refutes the presumption of Indian economists, that the native Hindu would always be willing to spend time rather than money, and would stick to the indigenous and cheap modes of transit.

Now, in England we know that after passenger traffic has been developed, goods traffic can become not less important; and there is every reason to suppose that in India, for long distances, the goods traffic would be the most important branch. To establish lines of railways would at once impart value to long strips of land; would, in fact, virtually call up India from its present condition of an imperfect occupancy of land by a working population, with few incentives to industry, to a genuine settlement of the land by its own population, with a better distribution for purposes of transit and commerce. In New Brunswick it has been found that to make a road into the wild land causes settlement of the land—calls into existence thriving settlements, and draws back produce with increased wealth to the community and the State. The same principle applies to India; for if the settlers are there already, they are there without the capital or the road; and thus they labour under a want of that which creates wealth in New Brunswick. The railway would carry the capital to them, and would bring back profit both to commerce and to the State; and this process is to be performed in a country peopled by 150,000,000 souls. We will venture to say that there is no investment in the world capable of such exhaustless application of capital, with such an immense crop of profit, as an Indian railway.

PAN-HELLENISM AND PAN-SCLAVISM IN TURKEY.

II.

According to the telegraphic despatches which Russia fabricates *ad usum Delphini*, for our careless credulity, the Ottoman empire may be supposed to swarm with innumerable millions of Hellenes. We read of nothing but Greeks in Albania, Greeks in Macedonia, Greeks in Thessaly, Greeks in Bulgaria—*Greci di qua, Greci di là, Greci di sopra, Greci di rimpetto*. From what "vast deep," we ask, did these Achaean hosts, numberless as the sands of the sea, emerge? It sounds like the resurrection of the whole posterity of Deucalion, from Hellen to the heroes who fell in the valley of Leukopetra.

It is Russia that has invented all these Greeks. Nicholas the God is an omnipotent Creator. Give him but a bandit who has received the *chrisma* of an orthodox priest; give him but a blue cross stuck upon the red fez of a freebooter—nay, give him a convict escaped from the hulks—and you have a ready-made Greek patriot ready to revolt against Turkey. Greece for ever!

Singular enough! But more singular still to see the innumerable millions of *Slaves* who would rise suddenly, as soon as the "Greek" insurrection had triumphed. Then there would be Slaves in Albania and Slaves at Mount Athos, Slaves in the Morea and Slaves in Roumania; and Slave *καρ'εὐχὴν*—eminently Slave would be Constantinople, the City of the Czar (Czargrad)—the Holy City, whose church of St. Sophia forms, with the churches of Kiev and Moscow, the holy trilogy of the Golden Domes. Ah! how well the Grand Stage Director at St. Petersburg understands sudden changes of scenery!

Alternatively or simultaneously the orthodox Propaganda, the Hellenist Propaganda, and the Pan-sclavist Propaganda serve the Russian Government as the means of raising the populations of Turkey, and deceiving public opinion in the West. To lure the religious fanaticism of the Muscovite people, and to lull that frivolous Western Europe, which "disdains to interfere in questions of monks," the Czars put on the mask of orthodoxy. To entice philologues, the lunatics of classicism, it is reported that "the Chief Odysseus" is at the head of the "Pan-Hellenion," and that at the "Agiō Oros" are to be found fascicles of palimpsests waiting to be published with copious glosses. To win the sympathies of European democracy, the flag of an "oppressed nationality" is raised. The Muscovite agents prate in sonorous phrases of the "virgin blood that glows in the young South-Slavonian nationality;" they are not ashamed even to vaunt the "democratic and social" institutions of the cut-throats of Montenegro. In this way Russia, for our delusion, flaunts magnificent national and religious banners, under whose shadow it enrolls savage bands of famished, greedy, mercenary cutpurses, whom the first rouble can always buy, and who make war on Turkey, if not as Greeks, at least as *Grecs*.

The present insurrection, paid by Russia, is displayed under the Hellenic colour. We are told of the national enthusiasm of the Hellenic people, rushing to the succour of their "brothers" in Turkey. The Great Byzantine Empire is on the lips of all. Even in the speeches of our own statesmen we not unfrequently encounter this fallacious expression: "The national insurrection of the Greeks, the rising of the Christian race, of the Greek race against the Turkish race." Pious fraud and shameful ignorance thus confound the Catholic-Greek religion and the Greek nationality. By a similar fraud Russia contrived years ago to represent as a Greek rising the insurrection of Ypsilanti, who, with Russian arms, and his pockets full of Muscovite gold, stirred up disorder in the Latin country of Moldo-Wallachia. Yet, as we have shown in a former article, the tribe of the Hellenes (and what Hellenes!) counts in European Turkey no more than one million, at most; that is, less than any other tribe among the numerous races of its inhabitants. The ethnographical proportions are exactly the reverse of that classical simplicity in which Russia and certain western statesmen would have us believe. The races are manifold, mingled, crossed, dispersed at random. It is a Tower of Babel, in which the Greeks make the most insignificant minority. As to the Slaves, their three millions are

counterbalanced by thirteen millions of populations of diverse origins. Evidently, in the vast Illyrian Peninsula nature herself is an invincible obstacle to the formation of States founded on the principle of nationality. The dispersion and the intermixture are too great.

The very excess of this dispersion of races drives the countries of the Balkan and the Danube to the necessity of holding together. But the political necessity of Europe constrains with even more force to this result. The Government of Constantinople would no longer be master of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles if it had lost the line of the Danube. We say more (and this point would admit of more ample development)—the maintenance of a State comprising the *Illyrian Triangle* and *Anatolia* is imperatively demanded by the interests of Europe in the East.

European Turkey and Asiatic Turkey—those two great Peninsulas, are, as it were, the flood-gates which at the Bosphorus serve to close the basin of the Black Sea, and thus to protect Europe against the incursions of Asia. The Bosphorus, the Danube, and the Caucasus, are the three cardinal points of the strategy of the East. A powerful state allied to Europe, embracing these three points, forms a bulwark against the savage irruptions of Asia. Great, then, must be the ignorance of those who honestly desire to dissolve the Ottoman empire, and to hurl back the Turkish race into Anatolia. By dissecting European Turkey into petty and powerless principalities, the passage of the Bosphorus—in other words, the grand route of Asia and of Europe—would be opened to the Autocrats, to the Staff of Bashkirism.

Of course the States, nominally independent of Turkey, would hold their own as long as the independence of the Crimea. Dissolve Turkey to-day, and to-morrow Nicholas may, with more right than Peter the Great, strike coins bearing the device, "Emperor of the Slaves and the Greeks." A study of the famous despatch of Pozzo di Borgo shows clearly enough that the chief aim of Russia always has been, not the renewal of the experiment in the Crimea, but the absolute and entire annexation of Turkey. The very least of Russia's demands has been the possession of the Danube, of the Bosphorus, and of important districts of Asia Minor, that is, of the highway to the West, of the Mediterranean route, and of the road to India. According to the project which the Czar Alexander proposed to Napoleon, the possession of Bessarabia, of Moldo-Wallachia, and of Bulgaria was assigned to Russia, with Constantinople and certain provinces in Asia Minor: the three essential points are there given.* Russia thoroughly understands the geographical and strategical importance of the two peninsulas of Europe and Asia. Her constant after-thought has been the entire annexation of Turkey. For that purpose she has always made an instrument of Slavism and Hellenism, and she has employed it well; but she has always been cautious not to allow any movement too independent of Russia to succeed.

To keep Turkey in a state of perpetual troubles, to watch the propitious moment for swooping on her prey, such has been the unvarying policy of St. Petersburg. The Czars regarded with an evil eye the lenity of the Government of Constantinople. It is a fact, abundantly proved by distinguished Orientalists, that the Turkish Government was remarkably lenient until the policy of Russia revealed itself. Everywhere, in Greece, in Moldo-Wallachia, in Servia, the Osmanlis left to the populations their communal constitutions. The Mahometans in Turkey were so far from seeking "to make a religious propaganda by the sword," that in the Ottoman empire, to this day, the Greek Catholic bishops assemble in divan with the police and municipal authorities, to administer the police of the towns, to settle differences between litigating parties, to register sales and purchases, to impose, collect, count, and pay in the taxes to the public treasury. To understand the importance of this fact, it should be known that these bishops carry the crown of the ancient Byzantine empire on their heads, that they claim over the people the authority of a sovereign, and almost the adoration of gods. To men possessed of so vast a sacerdotal power the government of "Mahometan fanatics" has granted the largest administrative and political authority. But Russia, by her incessant propagandist influence upon the populations, compelled the Ottoman Government to restrictive measures of self-defence. This was exactly what the Czars desired. Then they could make war, or stir up revolt against Turkey, in the name of the Christians, or of oppressed races.

For a number of years has Russia levied these insurrectionary chiefs against the Ottoman empire. Thus, in Greece, the Ypsilanti, Kolokotronis, Kapodistrias, Bishop Gregory, Nikitas Stamatopoulos, Mitaxas, were Russian instruments. Thus, in

* See the Project drawn up by the Russian Minister, M. de Romanzoff; Counter-project of the French Ambassador, M. de Caulaincourt, Duc de Vicenza. See also the Project of M. de Chateaubriand.

Servia, in the centre of Panslavism, we find Czerny Georg, Milosch Obrenowitch, Alex. Karageorgewitch, at last even Wutschitsch, and now Milosch again agitating the people, under the orders of the Czar. As soon as a chief displays a certain spirit of independence, Russian influence provides him with an antagonist. If the latter in his turn endeavours to take advantage of the movement for his own ends, Russia sets up against him some other corrupted chief, or perhaps the former deposed chief, who may have once more sold himself to the Muscovite cause.

In this way the Slave and Greek movements are always at the mercy of Russia; for the pivot of these movements is the cupidity of honourless guerillas, the greedy fanaticism of Russo-Greek priests, and the venal ambition of bandit chiefs. In the Illyrian Triangle, says the most eminent Orientalist in Germany, there are no vital elements of nationality; sombre orthodox reigns alone, and governs there; and that orthodox, sister and servant of the Czarian Papacy, is a danger to Europe. The holy water of Moscow, the muskets of Odessa, and, above all, the gold of St. Petersburg, are the essential ingredients of Greco-Slave insurrections. On this foul background, venal *littérateurs* and disordered rhapsodists paint a romance of "classical" Hellenism or of "virginal" Slavism.

Cannot the dupes who believe in a pure Hellenism and Slavism in Turkey perceive that the single aim, and sole result, of these movements is a change of master for Turkey?—that the question is not to emancipate an oppressed nationality, but only to hand over the advanced posts of Europe to the enemy of the world?

[Errata in Article I.—Third column, line 29, for "but the deeper aspects of the four races are essentially different" read, "but in its deeper aspects Bulgaria is essentially different from the four races." Line 37, for "Nubians," read "Italians." Line eight from below, for "with too national colour" read "with two national colours."]

Open Council.

[IN THIS DEPARTMENT, AS ALL OPINIONS, HOWEVER EXTREME, ARE ALLOWED AN EXPRESSION, THE EDITOR NECESSARILY HOLDS HIMSELF RESPONSIBLE FOR NONE.]

There is no learned man but will confess he hath much profited by reading controversies, his senses awakened, and his judgment sharpened. If, then, it be profitable for him to read, why should it not, at least, be tolerable for his adversary to write.—MILTON.

EARNINGS OF WORKING MEN.

(To the Editor of the Leader.)

SIR,—I must confess that the statements of J. B. Horsfall, in your last number, giving the sum of a family's earnings in the factory, at 62s. 6d. per week, has made me somewhat envious. Truly, his must be a hard case! while tens of thousands of toilers from 14 to 16 hours a day, without the ease, the ventilation, and the other advantages of a large room, but pent up in small shops, garrets, or unhealthy workrooms, are obliged to be satisfied with one-third of that sum. To say nothing of tailors, shoemakers, needlewomen, and such like; how many men there are in business with large families, living in cities or towns, in which they have to share heavy parochial and local burdens, with anxious daily exertions, vexatious losses, irritating customers, and a hundred other ills from which the factory operative is free. I say, how many such there are, whose weekly profits from trade fall far short of the sum put down by your correspondent. And yet he writes as a dissatisfied man! Let him exchange places with myself, and try to sustain the following condition with equanimity.

I am the father of a family equal in number with those in the case stated by Mr. Horsfall. I carry on a business in one of the main streets of a city, and am engaged almost incessantly behind my counter from seven o'clock in the morning till nine at night, with the help of my wife and eldest daughter. My yearly profits do not subject me to the income-tax, and the rent being left out of the account, I may put my weekly gains for all household expenditure, education of my children, &c. &c., at 38s.; while Mr. Horsfall's, with a deduction of his rent, will stand at 58s. 6d. Now considering the difference which necessarily arises from our different positions as to appearances, what can his privations be to mine? My eldest son is bound apprentice with a premium, and only one of my children earns anything. My case is only a sample of millions in this country among the trading classes, who have their lives worried with the labours, the uncertainties, the vexations and cheatings incident to business; and yet these grumbling factory operatives, who have no trouble in making out bills, or giving receipt stamps, but only once a week to hold up their hands for their wages, think themselves the harshly-treated and ill-used victims of capitalists! M. R.

Literature.

Critics are not the legislators, but the judges and police of literature. They do not make laws—they interpret and try to enforce them.—*Edinburgh Review*.

THE *Essay on a Plurality of Worlds*, which rumour attributes to WHEWELL, and on which we commented recently, is exciting attention in various circles; indeed, the wonderful nature of the speculations it suggests will always excite the omnivorous appetite of man for knowledge, especially knowledge of what is inaccessible. One of the most striking phenomena in man's history is this insatiable curiosity of science. Compare the state of the highest animals, or even of the savage, with that restless intellectual activity which civilised man carries into all corners and recesses of the earth, and stretching even beyond the earth into the Universe! "Ever hasting, never resting," is his motto. He cannot remain satisfied until he has explored and explained every mountain-range and seaboard; read the history of this our Time-scarred Earth in those successive strata which lie before us like fragments of old palimpsest recording mighty annals; named every plant and insect; traced every molecular change in the ever-changing circle of organic life; caught the sunbeam, dissected it, made it point for him, made it work for him as an anatomical instrument, the delicacy of which no other instrument can approach; made the thundercloud harmless; penetrated the measureless spaces of the heavens with his telescope, and the measureless spaces of the atomic world with his microscope; fixed the exact periods of cometary re-appearances; and now he is investigating the planets themselves, proving them not to be theatres whereon the drama of life can be acted by actors such as ours! Listening to the eloquent Professor Owen, the other day, as he, with a newly-dissected ostrich before him, pointed out the marvels of that organisation and the adaptation of each part to the purposes of life, we could not restrain the sense almost of awe at the unslakable thirst for knowledge which has, by a concourse of millions of efforts, secured our present modicum of positive science, a modicum trivial compared with all that remains to be known, but which, compared with the knowledge of the New Zealander or the Russian serf, is, indeed, stupendous.

The heavens whereon "God's name is writ in stars" are scarcely more profoundly affecting to the mind than the unfathomable minutenesses of organic life. Nothing that Lord Rosse's telescope reveals can surprise us more than the revelations of EHRENBORG'S microscope:—

"I could plainly distinguish (says Ehrenberg), with a microscope magnifying 800 times, monads which had been filled with colouring nutritive substances, and which possessed voluntary motions, but the entire and greatest diameter of whose body only amounted to $\frac{1}{1000}$ or $\frac{1}{2000}$ of a Parisian line. To this smallest animal form yet discovered I have given the name of monasterio. I could perceive in the largest individuals as many as six, and in the smallest as many as four internal sacs, coloured blue by indigo, which at times did not occupy quite half of the dimensions of the animal. Such a sac, therefore, of the monasterio must be at the most $\frac{1}{1000}$ of a line in diameter. At the upper part of this animal is seen, as in all the monads, a powerful movement of particles still smaller than themselves when these have approached them; and it is therefore probable that it has a fringe of from ten to twenty cilia at the mouth-aperture, like that which can be distinguished in the larger monads. Further, even if we do not suppose the single colouring particles which the stomachs are gradually filled to be very numerous, we must admit, from the roundness of the sacs, that there must be at least three particles in each. This affords us proof of the existence of material colouring particles of red and blue, moving freely in the water, which measure $\frac{1}{1000}$ part of a line, or $\frac{1}{2000}$ part of an inch in diameter. If we found our computation on the size of the smaller monads these particles would not exceed $\frac{1}{2000}$ of an inch in diameter. If the cilia really exist, they must probably have a less diameter than $\frac{1}{1000}$ of a line, or they would be themselves visible with the highest powers of the microscope. [Ehrenberg subsequently states it as the result of his experiments on the limits of microscopic vision, that squares of $\frac{1}{2000}$ of a line each way can be distinguished by a careful observer with a clear magnifying power of 1000.] Further, in the larger, infusoria of similar structure it is seen that, when the coloured globules contained in two digestive sacs appear to touch one another, they are separated by a membranous partition, bearing but a small proportion to the diameter of the sacs: say one-twentieth at most. This would amount to $\frac{1}{2000}$ of a line, or $\frac{1}{4000}$ of an inch in monads $\frac{1}{1000}$ of a line in diameter. The proportion which the granules constituting the ova of larger animalcules bear to the size of the parents is generally from $\frac{1}{10}$ to $\frac{1}{20}$ of their diameter. We may then consider the diameter of young monads, just come from the egg, to be almost $\frac{1}{2000}$ of a line, and perhaps much less. These would have digestive sacs, whose diameter in the same proportion would be $\frac{1}{2000}$ of a line; and the thickness of their walls would not exceed $\frac{1}{2000}$ of a line, or $\frac{1}{4000}$ of an inch. It is by no means certain that the monasterio is the smallest species existing; for, under favourable circumstances, wandering shadows of much smaller monads have been observed, which some future improvements in the microscope may enable us to study with the same precision."

This being so, think of what an Universe our body truly is, made up of independent cells in myriads on myriads beyond all powers of approximate calculation! HARTING and VALENTIN attempted to calculate the cells of the epidermis. On one square inch they found nearly 8000 cells; and as the surface of the body may be taken at 2325 square inches, there are some 1750 millions of horny cells in a single layer of epidermis. But even the parts where the skin is thinnest have more than one layer. They possess at least more than a dozen of such strata, each of which has more than a billion of horny scales complete in themselves. In the air tubes of a man there are something like 150 millions of cilia, each of which is in perpetual movement! So we might continue, adding millions to billions, stunning the mind with the vastness of this minuteness.

The mention of the ostrich in the preceding paragraph naturally brings to mind the ZOOLOGICAL SOCIETY, from whose Gardens it was obtained. It is a gratifying fact that an exhibition so useful and agreeable as the Zoological Gardens should at length have become a great success. The

number of members has greatly increased, while the number of visitors last year was beyond all precedent. On Whit-Monday upwards of 22,000 persons paid for admission, and not one single instance of misconduct has to be recorded! The exertions of the admirable secretary, Mr. D. W. MITCHELL, have been recognised by the public. The fish tanks, the anteaters, the zoophytes, and now the two Asiatic lions, attended by the old native soldier, form what the playbills style "a powerful and attractive east."

Among the ventures of cheap literature let us mention one about to be made by CHAPMAN and HALL, who are to give us books for two shillings each, books which may claim a place upon the shelves. The fifth edition of *Mary Barton* will inaugurate the series: a small octavo of upwards of three hundred pages in clear and handsome type. It will be followed by HAWTHORNE'S *Blithedale Romance*; and let us hope that such novels as the *Head of the Family*, the *Bachelor of the Albany*, and others already published by CHAPMAN and HALL, will find a place in this series.

APPROPOS of novels, ALEXANDRE DUMAS, the younger, has given us a new one, *La Vie à Vingt Ans*, which is well worth reading on several accounts. In the first place, it is finely written, with some searching analysis of motive and passion; in the next place, it contains three love stories, or rather four, one of them droll, told with art. But the book is also curious for its profound and unconscious immorality. The thing that most strikes us in French literature is not the conscious licence, but the unconscious display of an utterly low moral tone. The heroes do, think, and say things which astound an Englishman; and the author never seems to suspect that there can be any harm. The heroines are praised, or praise themselves, for actions which, so far from regarding as virtuous, we are amazed at their not perceiving to be the vilest course of duty. *La Vie à Vingt Ans* is not meant for young ladies, but it is a very readable novel for French novel readers.

PARIS LIFE.

Purple Tints of Paris. Characters and Manners in the New Empire. By Bayle St. John. Author of "Village Life in Egypt," "Two Years' Residence in a Levantine Family," Chapman and Hall. Price 21s.

MR. ST. JOHN returned from the East in 1848, and took up his residence in Paris, full of curiosity, as he informs us, to see how the experiment of a Republic would succeed in Europe. His "legitimate hopes," he speedily found, were doomed to disappointment. He watched the struggles of France anxiously, sympathisingly; followed it through its "waverings between the fear of usurpation or revolt;" deplored its mistakes; admitted its difficulties; foresaw the coming *coup d'état*, but could not believe in its success, because "not aware of the extent to which France was demoralised by fear and fatigue." So far it is but just to give Mr. St. John's political impressions, to indicate the point of view from which he has looked on Imperial France; but we agree with him that the Empire, once an established fact, satire and vituperation are useless and ill-advised. He says, justly:—

"I am now obliged to admit—whilst refusing to absolve crimes or forgive corruption—that the Empire succeeded to the Republic because the French nation mistook its aspirations towards liberty for liberty itself; and that Napoleon III. reigns by exactly the same rights as other monarchs—by the tacit consent of a people adapted to his rule. Personal attacks upon him would now be childish. If he were an Antoine, he would not be where he is; and if the French people feel within themselves once more the sentiment of dignity and the love of freedom, he will be there no longer. At present he can only give way to some depending Restoration."

Mr. St. John appears to have resided much in Paris, and to be intimately acquainted with the various forms of existence in that capital. He professes great sympathy and admiration for the French, and, consequently, has considered the singular political phase through which they are at present passing with interest deeper than the curiosity of an indifferent spectator, or the speculative inquiry of a mere politician. His object in writing these "Purple Tints," he informs us, in his preface, was "not exactly to point the influence a new Government may have already had upon the externals of society—not to record changes in ladies' head-dresses or gentlemen's coats—but to show what features in French character, what defects in French civilisation, morality, and forms of thought, rendered an empire possible." This object is never lost sight of throughout the two volumes, amidst all the spirited illustrations, lively descriptions and amusing anecdotes, which render them "light reading," notwithstanding their grave and earnest purpose. They will doubtless be read, and their moral unconsciously imbibed, by many who would be scared by a treatise more exclusively and professedly political or philosophical; and if so, the work will have done good service, for the example and the warning of France is, and ought to be, a world-wide lesson. "The great reason," says Mr. St. John, "of the misfortunes of France is want of education, using that word in its widest sense." He relates incredible anecdotes of the ignorance and defective information of the "educated classes" on the most ordinary subjects. It appears true, that while the *learned men* of France are perhaps superior to those of any other nation, the "rank and file" of society are marvellously ill-informed. This he explains to be a natural result of the system of education pursued, and the narrow and superficial basis on which public instruction is founded. This part of his subject leads him to the consideration of the large class of students who—sent from all parts of the country to Paris to study—flung alone upon that wide sea without chart or compass—exposed to all the temptations of life at an age when temptation of all kinds is most difficult to resist—have formed a society and even a settlement of their own, in the neighbourhood of the Public Schools, known as the *Quartier Latin*. The manners and customs of this class, to which London presents nothing analogous, are favourite subjects with many French novelists, who find ample themes in these lives of strange contrasts and picturesque vagabondage; and they have for the public that sort of fascination which any approximation to savage life always seems to exert over the victims of civilisation. It is too large a subject to touch upon here; we refer our readers to Mr. St. John's

book, who has considered its grave as well as its laughing side—the shadows as well as the lights of the picture. A large portion of these two volumes is dedicated to the *Pays Latin* and its population—the students and the griffettes.

We have often heard the question debated: is Paris, as a residence, cheap or dear? We believe the truth is pretty nearly this: *Luxuries* in Paris are much the same as elsewhere; but Frenchmen find it possible to live in Paris for a sum on which an Englishman would starve in London. As a curious example, we will extract the "experiences" of M. F.:

"But how is it possible for even an old gentleman to be always dressed in garments not very tattered, to appear occasionally in a new hat, to have his silver snuff-box replenished every morning, and to show a rosy and invariably smiling face, on 20*l.* a-year, or 17*l.* 12*s.*, rent deducted? M. F.—'a own account of the matter, which he gave me one day that we were alone at the café, is as follows: 'When I have taken my little turn round the garden I slip into a by-street, where there is a baker who invariably has my son loaf ready in a corner. With this I go to the *crémier*, or milk-shop, and ask for five centimes' worth of milk, which I dilute with water, and drink as I eat my bread, and talk to the mistress of the place about twenty years ago, when she was a model for a king and I—But let that pass. (This was said with a very eloquent smile.) Your young stomach would not be satisfied with this; but I am then armed for the day. I feel light and cheerful; and as the afternoon advances, begin to look forward to the great affair—the important occupation of dinner. That meal is my delight. I spare no expense. Let those who know nothing be attracted by the gilded salons of the Palais Royal, and help to pay their extravagant rents. Thirty-two sous—two francs for a dinner! It is monstrous; and what a dinner! I go back to my *crémier*, where I have long had the privilege (another smile) of dining. The good woman gives me a bowl of soup or plate of beef, and another of roast meat, or stewed meat, or vegetables, with fruit or cheese for dessert—all for sixteen sous. Do not imagine that I am at all favoured in the price; there are three other customers equally well treated; but I flatter myself that my portions are a little more copious; and yet the *crémier* makes a fair profit. In this way, you see, the two great expenses of the day are provided for; and I have 109 francs left. Now I see by your face, continued the old gentleman, crossing his legs and stirring about a piece of sugar in a glass of water, 'that you are counting up that this leaves me only about six sous a-day for washing, tobacco, coffee expenses, &c. I must, therefore, reveal to you the great secret of philosophical life in Paris. My little talents of society have procured me friends, who invite me to dinner on an average once a week; I have some relations, to whom I go one other day; and—I am very lucky at dominoes.'"

Many other extracts, both amusing and instructive, crowd upon our notice, but space compels us to refer the reader to the book itself. Not the least interesting chapter of the book is the 13th of Vol. ii., which treats, though avowedly but slightly and hastily—of the working classes of Paris—the terror of despotisms—the men who preserve the traditions of liberty in France, and in whose hearts and hands lies the germ of her future. With many inevitable mistakes and prejudices, the working classes, Mr. St. John declares, are far more educated than the other classes of society. At least, he says—and the words are very notable—the workman "can give a reason for the faith which is in him." Can the despots—"sitting in their high places, with France harnessed under their feet"—can the upper classes, who ignore and despise these men,—can the middle classes, who fear and mistrust them,—seriously hope that the spirit once awakened will ever again be crushed, and the light quenched that has once been kindled? If their eyes be obstinately closed, and their ears and understandings hardened, let other nations at least profit by their lesson, and avoid their doom. The concluding words of Mr. St. John's book shall complete the sentence:—

"Truly the example of France is a great lesson; but instead of teaching what interested sophists would have us believe—that political rights should only be granted when it is impossible to refuse them—it teaches that we should make haste to accustom as many classes as possible to the exercise of liberty—and there can be no liberty for a man whose affairs are transacted as a privilege by others, since we cannot always depend for our salvation on the virtue of the Upper Ranks of Society."

ANOTHER BOOK ON HUNGARY.

Hungary Past and Present: embracing its History from the Magyar Conquest to the Present Time. With a Sketch of Hungarian Literature. By Emeric Szabad, late Secretary under the Hungarian Government, in 1849. Adam and Charles Black.

The title of this instructive volume sufficiently indicates its contents. Hungarian history is sketched, as independently of German history as possible, from its earliest days; and it certainly forms not the least striking episode in the general history of Europe. It is the story of a gallant race struggling with an adverse fate, ever pressing on it from without; and of a country, fertile and wealthy, constantly ravaged by the base instruments of treachery, cruelty, and conquest.

A history of Hungary is opportune just now, when the English Government and the English people need to be reminded that Austria, our unwilling ally in this Turkish war, has been ever prone to acts of treachery in her dealings with other nations. The history of Hungary, in fact, resolves itself into a story of the indomitable courage and tenacity of the Hungarian people, and the inexhaustible treacheries and incredible atrocities of the House of Hapsburg. Nor is the British nation without stain in relation to these affairs! England, pre-eminently Protestant, constantly bragging of her share in the maintenance of the Protestant liberties of Europe, has suffered and connived at the sharp persecution and all but suppression of one of the bravest and staunchest Protestant Churches in Europe—that of Hungary. But since the days of Cromwell our Protestantism has been nothing but a policy of protests ending in the flourishing "peace and non-intervention" theories of Manchester. A policy of protests is a policy of negation and connivance; but in the case of Hungary we have not even had protests; and on the last occasion, in 1849, Lord Palmerston actually expressed "satisfaction" when Hungary was "pacified," that is, when, among other things, the independence of its Protestant Church was destroyed by a stroke of Haynau's pen. We are loth to bring a charge of insincerity against any class of men, but when we hear Roman Catholicism attacked so fiercely in a sister country, nay even nearer home, and when we have proof of the culpable apathy of the denunciators with regard to the Protestants of Hungary, we are permitted, if not to doubt the honesty of their abuse of Rome, at least to question their sympathy with their fellow-believers abroad. Your direct Protestants are all Tories—and readily support the Pope when, as Prince of Rome, he acts as an obstruction to a nation's liberty, or wink hard at the Austrian Emperor when, with the aid of Russian hordes, he tramples out Hungarian nationality, and destroys religious freedom.

Yet let not Hungary despair. Six times within four hundred years she has single-handed shaken the power of Austria to its centre, and only met with defeat, and not always with defeat, when Europe was in arms against her; for

treachery effected what fair combat could not win. The heroes of Hungarian history have all defended the Protestants; and it was reserved for England, when she did interfere, to betray them. There was an outcry about the attack which Islamism made on Christendom; but the Turks behaved in Hungary and towards the Hungarians with far less tyranny and intolerance than the Hapsburgs, supported by the swords of Italian bravoes. We talk of the danger to European liberty from the Turks; but Austrian despotism and Roman intolerance have ever been dogging the steps of freedom to stab her from behind when she was powerful but unguarded, to torture her with imaginable cruelties when she was weak or overcome. The Great Turk did neither the one nor the other. He was a fair and open foe. Treachery, in the House of Hapsburg, seems like scrofula or gout among less notorious families, instinctive and hereditary; and some day the House of Hapsburg will die of the disease.

Yet, it will be remarked, Austria is the ally of England. True; she is forced upon us. It is the penalty we pay for permitting Russia to crush Hungary in 1849; and for generally conniving, any time this half century, at the murderous acts of Austrian despotism. In the interests of peace and non-intervention we permitted certain acts; and the fruit of that policy is a tremendous war, in which we are actually forced into complicity with one confederate in national crimes for the sake of punishing another! Such is the Nemesis of nations. Italy and Hungary are the stakes for which Austria plays; and we are compelled to permit her to have her throw.

Not the least interesting portion of the volume now under review is that relating to the rise of literature. The literature is quite of a modern growth; and it is only within the last thirty years that the Hungarian language has been used in the Diet, and little more than half a century has elapsed since almost the first book was printed in that tongue. Of course Austria punished, imprisoned, and persecuted the originator and continuers of the revival of Magyar; but, nevertheless, the language has grown and flourished, and Hungary now has a literature, novels, poems, history, science, journalism. Austria has done its utmost to extinguish this participation of Hungary in the progressive instincts of the century—Austria has always done all she dared to promote barbarism and eradicate civilisation in Hungary, except at those critical moments when she needed Hungarian swords to maintain her existence—and she has failed. As a specimen of Hungarian poetry take the following, written since the War of Independence, and only circulated in manuscript:—

"Lower Hungary," says Mr. Szabad, "as some of the readers will perhaps be aware, is the favourite abode of the storks, who build their nests on the low thatched cottages, which they leave on the approach of winter, and which they never miss in finding when they return with gay spring. Of this poem, which exhibits a noble unaffected pathos, we are enabled to present a close but graceful rendering.

TO THE STORK.

"The winter time is over and the fields are growing green;
And thou once more art here, bird so good,
To build thy nest again where it before hath been,
To hatch therein again thy feathered fledgling brood.
Away! away! be cheated not,
By the sunbeams glittering quiver,
By the babbling of the river;
Away! spring comes not to the spot,
Life is benumbed and frozen up for ever,
Oh walk not through the fields, there is nothing there but graves!
Oh roam not by the lake side! blood-crimsoned are its waves;
Oh fly not to the house tops! all there that thou shalt find,
Are but the reeking embers that ruin left behind.
Leave my house, nor tarry here—
Yet whither canst thou go
To build again thy nest, where, oh where!
Above thee like a fear
Hangs God's curse, and thou shalt hear
The wailing of despair
From below.

Fly away to the south where the sun waits for thee,
Good bird fly away, thou art gladder than we.
Fate gave thee two countries, we only had one,
And that one is lost and forever undone.
Fly away! good bird, away!

If thou meetest in thy flying
With our wanderers in the south, to them say,
We are fading fast away—
We are dying—

We are scattered far and wide
Like a sheaf by storm untied—
Some lie within the tomb;
Some in the prison's gloom;

Others wander in their sadness dumb with woe—
Some with a start arise,
Terror gleaming in their eyes,

To seek another fatherland beyond the Atlantic's flow.
No bride is longing sadly
For the one to her so dear;
No parent weepeth madly
Beside his children's bier;
Old age is smiling gladly
To think its end is near.

Tell our brethren who wander
That shame shall be our part,
Shame we'er to be uprooted
Like the oak-tree at whose heart
Cling the worms that devour it.
As among us day by day,
Neighbour plotteth against neighbour
Ever trying to betray,
And kinsman against kinsman
Speareth lying words away.

Away, good bird away, give this message to the keeping
Of thy silence lest the traitor should hear it and betray.
Tell it not to those who wandering for fatherland are weeping,
Lest their sorrows turn to loathing of the glad home far away."

Mr. Szabad has earned the praise of having written a very useful, stirring book, and the further praise of having written it in remarkable English. For ourselves, reviewing the history of Hungary, we cannot but believe that she will flourish as a nation, when Austria is no longer remembered, except as a geographical expression.

The Arts.

TWO LOVES AND A LIFE.

THE new melodrama by Tom Taylor and Charles Reade, produced on Monday at the ADELPHI, strikes me as being the best melodrama I have seen for these ten years, the most various and the most interesting. The story is rapid and crowded with incidents and situations—too crowded for a drama, but a melodrama can't well be overdone in this respect. The dialogue is very superior to what we are usually treated to, being full of natural touches, sparkling sentences, and occasionally a touch of poetry. The characters are various, well-defined, well-contrasted. And so through four long acts the story moves, carrying with every turn fresh smiles, fresh laughter, and fresh tears: real good honest laughter, real tears of pathos.

To tell you the story would occupy at least a couple of columns, and then would not be satisfactory; for it is not a story developing one idea, one passion, or one character through all its phases, but a story crowded with episodes, and, although clear enough in its march, yet complicated by the number of elements it embraces. One must not look critically at it; one must accept the large licence of melodramatic motive and probability; one must allow much that is unorganised—details thrown in for their own sake rather than for the sake of the whole; and, content with the unmistakable interest and movement of the play, accept it for what it is.

The *mise en scène* was admirable, with the one exception of a vile and ludicrous libel on the sea, which a nation of "tars" ought to have yelled at in derision. The gradual stealing on of the mist, the picturesque grouping of the men with torches, the movement and life of the crowd on Tower-hill at the execution—these were very effectively arranged. The acting, too, was unusually good. If Webster had never played but that one part of the Jesuit, it would be enough to stamp him as the first melodramatic actor on our stage. The representation of the changes from the feeble, senile old Quaker into the calm impassible plotter and back again into the old Quaker, when strangers' eyes are on him, was artistic. The concentrated calm, as of a soul once greatly tried, so greatly, that now no earthly influence has power again to move it, with which he told the story of his love and sorrow, profoundly affected the audience; this scene was in my opinion a masterpiece. His assumption of the fisherman was picturesque; but to my thinking his long tirade in the cave was as poorly as the other passages were finely delivered. Declamation is not his forte. He is not rapid enough, nor varied enough, nor rhythmical enough. As the Protestant priest he recovered himself; and the father's emotion was most pathetically expressed. Madame Celeste played better than I have ever seen her. The natural touches of the earlier scenes were most naturally given, and varied pleasantly the picturesque melodramatic business. The burst of hysterical joy with which she receives the Duke's assurance of her lover's pardon was also very fine; but the tone and manner of her demanding the pardon were shrewish, and should be softened: it is true the authors have given her shrewish language, but she must get over that. It was a blot on a performance otherwise distinguished for its truthful emotion as well as picturesque action. Miss Woolgar will not let me praise her as my admiration of her in general makes me wish to praise; she has two faults growing on her: one of uttering many passages in a quite private, confidential manner to herself, as if at rehearsal; the other of throwing her arms and her voice about in exaggerations of feeling which destroy the effect of naturalness aimed at. Keeley as the schoolmaster was, as usual, immensely ludicrous without a hint of buffoonery—laughter oozes from every pore of that rotund comedian! In one word, a great success, a success deserved; a success for the authors, a success for the actors, a success for the treasury! It is quite pleasant to write the word "success," so you see I iterate it; for does it not mean pleasant feelings everywhere—in the audience—in the authors' families and circles—in the theatre? And does not success breed success? Only compare such a night as that of Monday last with the previous Monday at the HAYMARKET, when for four hours of bad air, bad acting, bad writing, a dreary drama, an impossible drama, and a miserable audience, we had three hours and a half of bad air, very bad, for the house was crammed, (Webster places not the critics in cool, comfortable stalls! Yah!) but it was gaily supported for the sake of the good acting, good writing, amusing drama. The amused audience shouted and bravoed, and went home happy! Every man and woman there that night is prepared to go again to the theatre, because so amused, and this is the way success breeds success!

While we were shouting congratulatory bravoos to Tom Taylor and Charles Reade, another audience was laughing at the OLYMPIC at another piece by Tom Taylor:

THE WRONG BOX,

which is a neat little version of a neat little piece, *Une Nuit aux Soufflets*, familiar to all visitors of the Sr. JAMES'S Theatre, through the admirable acting of Levasor and Lafont. I cannot say that it is acted in the same satisfactory style at the OLYMPIC; for although Wigan plays Lafont's part with all Lafont's finesse, and more than Lafont's humour, Miss P. Horton murders the part of the silly, stupid Duke, so wonderfully and so humorously played by Levasor. It was a bad, an exasperating piece of acting. Not only did Miss Horton profoundly misconceive the part, converting the formal imbecility of the Duke into the voluble silliness of a court page, but she did not even act up to her own conception, leaving us in doubt whether she meant to represent the *espèglerie* of a Cherubino, or the stupidity of a prince. Mr. F. Robinson, as the young lover, made the great mistake of "taking the stage" on the slightest provocation, and of trying to get "tragic effects" out of very ordinary situations. He must learn to curb this ambition of young tragedians, and learn that the only way to "make something" of a part is to play it, not to play something else. The introduction in this piece of the

couplets, which lighten and vary the French vaudevilles, is a happy innovation.

It was on Wednesday I saw this *Wrong Box*, and on Thursday my breakfast peace of mind was disturbed by reading in the *Times* that I was that evening again to be dragged to a theatre—the LYCEUM—to see a piece with the incomprehensible title of

WANTED A SHE-WOLF.

I wanted no she-wolf; quite the reverse: I wanted repose and—the Christian Fathers. But what does the restless Charles Mathews care for repose? What does he care for Christian Fathers? He seldom reads them.

I went. *Wanted a She-Wolf* turned out to be one of the latest Parisian novelties—*Romulus*, a charming piece by Alexandre Dumas and Regnier, out of a novel by Augustus Lafontaine, and done into English by some admirable Unknown—*omne ignotum pro mirifico*!—so that you see four men with immortal souls have been employed on one act: *parturiunt mentes nascitur ridicula scena*!

The piece so produced is, as I said, a charming piece—a little cabinet picture, representing two philosophers in the serenity of their studies disturbed by the apparition of that phenomenon which may interest but must disturb philosophers—a baby. To whom does this "specimen of mottled humanity in long-clothes" belong? And "how *gat* it there?" Questions which perplex philosophy, and agitate the piece. The child is adopted, and, because a foundling, is christened *Romulus*. No sooner is that historical name bestowed on it, than Professor Placidus feels the historical necessity for a she-wolf to suckle it. *Si nous avions une louve*!

By the way, it is worth remarking, to the credit of the stupidity of a British public, that not half a dozen people present seemed to understand why the she-wolf was wanted. In Paris this was the great *mot* of the piece. In England they roared at the idea of *Romulus* being succeeded by a Remus, but regarded the desire for a she-wolf as if the nursing had been a wolf-cub.

The piece was played by Charles Mathews, Frank Matthews, Baker, and Miss Oliver, but a discerning public found very mediocre amusement in it.

SADLER'S WELLS.

A FAIR correspondent who knows my weakness in obeying her, and my weakness in staying away from the theatres, sends me this reproof, which, in penitence, I print:—

"DEAR VIVIAN,—Unaccustomed as I am to address you in this public manner, I cannot refrain from calling your critical attention to a theatre which is not enough noticed by the newspapers. I mean Sadler's Wells.

"I went there on Monday evening to see Massinger's old play *The City Madam*. If I could tell the public as well as you can how entirely well it was done, it would not long ignore the great merits of a little theatre, where intelligence attracts more than splendid *mise en scène*, and where judicious acting, even in very subordinate parts, makes up to the intellectual play-goer for the want of any extra amount of 'froth and fury signifying nothing.'

"Oh! discerning and critical Vivian, let us hear from you more often of the good acting of Mr. Phelps, and his well-taught company at Sadler's Wells; where the old English Play is played, and always played well—as those will testify who have witnessed the representation of *Henry V.*, *Midsummer Night's Dream*, *The Fatal Dowry*, *The Duchess of Malfi*, and now lastly, *The City Madam*. They who go once will go, or wish to go, again.

"I cannot be critical; I was too well pleased to be so. But do you, dear Vivian, listen to this call on your attention—go there, I pray you, and let us hear what you say.—Ever yours,

"ANNA JANE."

THEATRICAL NOTES.

WHAT think you of this, by way of a coincidence? The other day I told you of a *débütante* at the LYCEUM named Miss Talbot, who made her bow in a translation of Alfred de Musset's *Caprice*. While I was writing that notice a *débütant* was making his bow at the ODEON in Paris, and his name was also Talbot; and the piece he played in is said to be an imitation of *Un Caprice*!

Appropos of Paris, the great theatrical event just now which forms the topic of the salons and the journals is Regnier's acting in Madame Girardin's comedy; it divides the empire of gossip with Meyerbeer's opera. Regnier, who has left so profound and so charming a souvenir with us all in England, whom no one mentions but with a certain affectionateness of admiration,—whom we, in England, pay the strange compliment of considering the most English of Frenchmen,—has lately had two parts which seem to have surprised even his greatest admirers in France. Mr. Mitchell, can you not bring Regnier over to us once again, and let us weep and laugh with him in *Romulus* and *La Joie fait peur*? Give us Regnier, and do not give us Emil Devrient; and my pen, which bad actors declare is always steel, shall be changed into gold to write your praises!

At the LYCEUM they have brought out another farce—"a screamer"—called *Number One round the Corner*. It is of the *Box and Cox* school of extravagance and fun; written by William Brough, on the hint of a French piece; and played by Mathews and Roxby with immeasurable extravagance—Roxby being unusually rapid and droll; Charles Mathews voluble, but not particularly good. One does not criticise such things, but I defy you not to laugh at them.

Mr. J. M. Morton has taken *Un homme entre deux airs*, and, treating it in his usual Camberwell style, made a farce they laugh at with great readiness at the Princess's,—which, considering that it comes after the fourth and fifth acts of Charles Kean's *Richard III.*, is saying something.

Bayle Bernard has also at the same theatre given a version of Leon Gozlan's *Une tempête dans un verre d'eau*, called *A Storm in a Tea-cup*.

But the best Note I have in my voice is that the Opera opens on Thursday next. It is to be Grisi's last season, alas! The Directors promise great things—and they have great names to perform these promises with. We shall see.

VIVIAN.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

BIRTHS.

CARNEGIE.—March 20, at 81, Piccadilly, the Lady Catherine Carnegie: a son and heir.
 ENFIELD.—March 19, at Eaton-square, the Viscountess Enfield: a daughter.
 GARDNER.—Jan. 24, at Cawnpore, the wife of Herbert C. Gardner, Esq., Thirty-eighth Bengal Light Infantry: a daughter.
 TYNTE.—March 23, at Brighton, the wife of Colonel Kemerys Tynce, M.P.: a daughter.

MARRIAGES.

BRIGGS—HENEGAN.—March 16, at Christ Church, Marylebone, Lieutenant William Briggs, of the Seventy-first Regiment of Bengal Infantry, third son of the late Lieutenant-Colonel Briggs, K.H., of Strathairly, Fifeshire, formerly of H. M. Twentieth Light Foot, to Adelaide Augusta, youngest daughter of Sir Richard and Lady Heneghan.
 DYSON—INMAN.—March 23, at Trinity Church, Halifax, Mr. John Dyson, of Bradford, to Mary Ann, third daughter of the late Mr. Joseph Inman, manufacturer, of Wood House Mill, near Huddersfield.
 WINN—DUMARESCU.—March 21, at St. George's, Hanover-square, Rowland Winn, Esq., eldest son of Charles Winn, Esq., of Westell Priory, Yorkshire, and Appleby-hall, Lancashire, to Harriet Maria Amelia, second daughter of the late Lieutenant-Colonel Dumarescu, the niece of the Earl of Lanesborough.

DEATHS.

DUFF.—March 20, at 41, Eaton-place, Mary Hamilton, daughter of James Duff, Esq., M.P., and Lady Agnes Duff.
 GROSVENOR.—March 20, on board H.M.S. Boscawen, Lieutenant the Lord Gilbert Norman Grosvenor, aged twenty-two.
 JEPHSON.—March 20, Lady Jephson, Wimpole-street, Cavendish-square.
 JENNER.—March 16, at his residence, at Berkeley, (Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Fitzhardinge Jenner, of the Royal South Gloucester Militia, and a magistrate and deputy-lieutenant of the county, aged fifty-seven.

Commercial Affairs.

MONEY MARKET AND CITY INTELLIGENCE.

Friday Evening, March 24, 1854.
 CONSOLS have had over a two per cent. fall since last week, and notwithstanding an occasional rally, the tendency has been very decidedly downwards. Money is becoming tight, and the new loans that are about on the Continent, added to the drain of bullion out of the country, add to the general depression.
 Shares have followed Consols, and the "Consols" of the share-market, London and North-Western, are 2 per cent. below par. Mining shares are very flat; indeed, next to nothing doing in them. Peninsulars keep up well, and Nouveau Monde have had a great rally this last week.
 Russian stock is still low, the five have been at 81.42, but are a little firmer again to-day. A protracted war will make this valuable investment about the same price as Spanish, say 30 for the five per cents.; indeed, it must be a long time recovering its prestige, should any unforeseen event bring about a peace.
 We should not be surprised to see Consols at 85 this day week, because it is fair to suppose that the state of war must be in some way authoritative to the Consols before the end of the year. All produce connected with the Russian trade, such as hemp, tallow, &c., and palm oil, is very high.
 Commercial difficulties may be anticipated this coming spring. The little shake that there has been in the Australian trade is a sample of what we are likely to see in an extended form. Consols leave off at four o'clock at 88½.

Consols, 88½; Caledonian, 51½; 52½; Chester and Holyhead, 13; 14; Eastern Counties, 11½; 11½; Edinburgh and Glasgow, 55; 57 ex div.; Great Western, 74; 74½; Lancashire and Yorkshire, 60½; 61; London, Brighton, and South Coast, 94; 94½; London and North Western, 95½; 96; London and Staffordshire, 75; 76; North British Pref., 104; North Staffordshire, 64; 64½; Oxford, Worcester, and Wolverhampton, 27; 29; Scottish Central, 84; 86; South Eastern, 25½; 26; South Wales, 33; York, Newcastle, and Berwick, 60½; 61; York and North Midland, 43; 44; Antwerp and Rotterdam, 4; 4½; East Indian, 2; 2½; Luxembourg, 54; 64; Ditto (Railway), 3; 4; Ditto, Pref., 1; 1½; Madras, 1; 1½; Namur and Liege (with Int.), 6½; 7; Northern France, 24½; 25; Paris and Lyons, 11½; 11½; Paris and Orleans, 42½; 43; Paris and Rouen, 32; 34; Paris and Strasbourg, 27½; 28; Samtbr and Meuse, 71; 8; West Flanders, 31; 32; Western of France, 21; 21½; Azua Frias, 1; 1½; Anglo-Californian, 4; 4½; Brazil Import, 34; 4; St. John Del Rey, 31; 33; Great Nugget Vein, 1; 1½; Linares, 11; 12; New Ditto, 4; 4½; par; Nouveau Monde, 1; 1½; Quartz Rock, 1; 1½; par; Wallers, 1; 1½; Port Royals, 4; 4½; Peninsular, 1-16, 1-3-16; par; Obernhofs, 4; 4½; Crystal Palace, 4; 4½; par; North British Australian Land and Loan, 4; 4½; par; Peel River, 14; 14½; Scottish Australian Investment, 14; 14½; par; South Australian Land, 33; 35.

CORN MARKET.

Mark Lane, Friday Evening, March 24.
 LOCAL TRADE.—The supplies of Wheat, Barley, and Oats during the week have been very large. Wheat, however, has not declined in value since Monday, though the demand has continued slow. It is probable, till the supply is disposed of, prices will remain very irregular, but an expectation is generally entertained that we shall after that experience a gradual improvement. Barley and Oats are each cheaper.
 FREE ON BOARD.—The Baltic and near Continental markets have given way somewhat. We have not yet had time to hear the effect of the fall of last Monday. The large arrivals which have taken place the last few days, and which continue at present, will, probably, not have their full effect on our market till next week or the week after. We have more inquiries from the country, but buyers seem determined to hold off at least till the effect of the present arrivals is seen.
 FLOATING TRADE.—Very few fresh arrivals have taken place since our last. The demand by consumers for cargoes has amounted to nothing this week. One or two purchases have been made by a London house, but there is no disposition to buy on the part of the trade generally. Most of the cargoes off the coast at the date of our last have been ordered away on consignment. We believe that even a considerable decline just now would not have induced much business. Many of the holders are indisposed to make great concessions, but there are some willing sellers, and we could secure a few cargoes on moderate terms. If the war is to continue, it is thought by houses engaged in the Black Sea trade, that their money may as well remain invested in the wheat already bought, and on passage or arrival in this country, as lay idle, for till the present state of things ceases, the trade with that quarter must continue in abeyance. The sales made this week are two Odessa Ghirka, 62s.; one Saida, 60s. 6d.; one Tanager Ghirka, 64s. 6d. There is nothing doing in maize. A cargo of barley sold at 29s.

BRITISH FUNDS FOR THE PAST WEEK.
 (CLOSING PRICES.)

	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.	Frid.
Bank Stock	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
3 per Cent. Red.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
3 per Cent. Con. An.	90½	90½	89½	89½	89	88½
Consols for Account	90½	89½	89½	89½	89	88½
3½ per Cent. An.	91½	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New 5 per Cents.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Long Ans. 1860.	.....	.....	4-15-16	.....	.....	.....
India Stock	.....	.....	235	234	227	.....
Ditto Bonds, £1000	4 p	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Ditto, under £1000	.....	.....	par	.....	.....	.....
Ex. Bills, £1000	10 p	7 p	3 p	par	2 d	2 p
Ditto, £500	5 p	5 p	3 p	7 p	.....	1 p
Ditto, 8 small	5 p	5 p	7 p	.....	.....	.....

FOREIGN FUNDS.
 (LAST OFFICIAL QUOTATION DURING THE WEEK ENDING THURSDAY EVENING.)

Brazilian Bonds	90	Russian Bonds, 5 per	.....
Buenos Ayres 6 per Cents. 54	.....	Russians 1852	83½
Chilian 6 per Cents. 102	.....	Russian 4½ per Cents. 75	.....
Danish 3 per Cent. 34	.....	Spanish 3½ per Cent. New Def. 17½	.....
Ecuador Bonds	.....	Spanish Committee Cert.	.....
Mexican 3 per Cents. 23	.....	of Coup. not fun.	.....
Mexican 5 per Ct. for	.....	Venezuela 3½ per Cents. 26	.....
Acc. March 22	.....	Belgian 4½ per Cents. 53½	.....
Portuguese 4 per Cents. 36	.....	Dutch 2½ per Cents. 53½	.....
Portuguese 3 p. Cents. ....	.....	Dutch 4 per Cent. Certif. 83½	.....

ROYAL OLYMPIC THEATRE.

Lessee, Mr. ALFRED WIGAN.
 Monday, and during the Week, will be performed a New Musical Comedietta, in Two Acts, called

THE WRONG BOX.

Principal Characters by Miss P. Horton, Miss Wyndham, Miss Turner, Mr. Robinson (of the Lyceum Theatre, his first appearance), and Mr. Alfred Wigan.
 After which a New Comedietta, called

TO OBLIGE BENSON.

Characters by Messrs. Emery, F. Robson, Leslie, Mrs. Stirling, and Miss Wyndham.
 To conclude with

THE FIRST NIGHT.

Characters by Messrs. A. Wigan, Leslie, Franks, H. Cooper, Vincent, Miss P. Horton, and Miss Wyndham.

DR. KAHN'S CELEBRATED MU-

SEUM is NOW OPEN in the spacious premises known as the SALLE ROBIN, 232, Piccadilly, top of the Haymarket. For gentlemen from 11 till 5, and from 7 till 10 daily. Explanations by Dr. Leach. On Wednesday and Friday, a portion of the Museum is open for ladies only, from 2 till 5. Gentlemen, however, are still admitted on those days from 11 to 7, and from 7 till 10. Explanations given to the ladies by Mrs. Leach. Admission, 1s.

ROYAL PANOPTICON OF SCIENCE AND ART, LEICESTER-SQUARE.

This Institution is now open to the public for Morning and Evening Exhibition. Mr. W. J. Best, the Organist to the Institution, will perform a selection of Classical Music on the Grand Organ (built for the Corporation by Messrs. Hill and Co.) at intervals. Programmes to be obtained at the Institution.
 Magnificent Fountain, throwing a stream of water 97 feet high; Photographic Gallery, where portraits are taken by license of the patentee; Engineering Tools; Sculpture; Veiled Statues by Monti and Gandolfi; New Musical Instrument, the Euphotone; Brevet's Printing Electric Telegraph in action; American Sewing Machine, &c. &c. Lecture on Ruhmkorff's Electro-Galvanic Coil, and Practical Illustrations in Photography.
 Hours of Exhibition.—Morning, from 12 to 5; Evening (Saturdays excepted), 7 to 10.
 Admission, 1s.; Saturdays, 2s. 6d.

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POLITAN ATHENÆUM. Library, Reading, and News Rooms, supplied with 30 daily and 100 weekly and provincial papers; in this respect offering special advantages to literary men. Weekly assemblies for Music and Dancing, Lectures, Classes, and Entertainments; Dining, Coffee, Smoking, and Drawing-rooms. Subscriptions: Two Guineas the year; One Guinea the half-year. Ladies half these rates. Country Members, One Guinea the year. No Entrance Fee.
 Cards of membership from Lady Day are now ready. A Prospectus forwarded upon application, containing a list of Entertainments and Lectures for the new Quarter.
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FIVE GUINEAS.—Mr. WM. H. HALSE,

the Medical Galvanist, of 22, Brunswick-square, London, informs his friends that his FIVE GUINEA APPARATUS is now ready. Send two postage stamps for his Pamphlet on Medical Galvanism.

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If so use the BOTANICAL EXTRACT (an effectual remedy), 3s. 6d., 5s., 10s. 6d., and 21s. If your hair is changing grey, use the Restorative Fluid (not a dye), 2s. 6d., 5s., and 11s. Prepared only by Mr. TAYLOR, Hair Restorer, who may be consulted (gratis) on all diseases of the hair, 19, New Bond-street, removed from 29, Edward-street, Portman-square.
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FRUIT, perfectly fresh, and of the finest flavour, we are now importing from the United States, hermetically sealed, in jars and cans. Those in jars, preserved in brandy, at the reduced price of 5s.; fresh peaches, in cans, 4s.; spiced, 3s. They will be forwarded to all parts of the country on the receipt of a Post-office Order for the amount. Sold, with every variety of American goods, at the American Warehouse, by LEFAVOUR & Co., 540, New Oxford-street.

ALLSOPP'S PALE ALE.

IN IMPERIAL QUARTS AND PINTS.—BOTTLED by PARKER and TWINING, Beer Merchants, 51, PALL-MALL. Quarts, 8s.; Pints, 5s.; Half-pints (for Luncheon), 3s. per dozen. Also in Casks of 18 gallons and upwards.

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"I am myself an admirer of this beverage, and my own experience enables me to recommend it, in accordance with the opinion of the most eminent English physicians, as a very agreeable and efficient tonic, and as a general beverage both for the invalid and the robust."—Glessen, May 6.
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supplying the Public with the celebrated unadulterated BOTTLED ALES, PORTER, and STOUT, brewed by the Metropolitan and Provincial Joint-Stock Brewery Company, submits the following scale of charges for the Company's goods in imperial measures:—

Ale or Stout	quarts	6 0	per doz.
do	pints	3 6
do	half pints	2 0

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 The same goods are constantly on draught at the Company's Wholesale and Retail Store,
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 P.S.—A Single Bottle at the wholesale price, and families supplied with the same beer in casks.

TEAS and COFFEES at MERCHANTS' PRICES.

Congou Tea	2s. 2s. 2d., 3s. 4d.
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Best Assam Pekoe Souchong, a very extraordinary tea	4s. 4d.
Prime Gunpowder Tea	4s., 4s. 5d., 5s.
The best Gunpowder Tea	.....	5s. 5d.
Prime Coffee, at 1s. and 1s. 2d. per lb.	.....	.....
The best Mocha and the best West India Coffee at 1s. 4d.	.....	.....

Teas, Coffees, Spices, and all other Goods sent carriage free, by our own vans and carts, if within eight miles; and Teas, Coffees, and Spices sent carriage free to any part of England, if to the value of 40s. or upwards, by PHILLIPS and COMPANY, Tea and Colonial Merchants.

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are advancing in Price, and from the disturbed state of the producing districts, the well-ascertained shortness of supply, and the increasing consumption, there is every probability of a considerable rise. We have not at present altered our quotations, and are still selling

The very Best Black Tea, at	.....	4 0	the pound.
Good sound Congou	.....	3 0	.....
Finest Pekoe ditto	.....	3 8	.....
Prime Gunpowder	.....	4 0	.....
Choice Coffee	.....	1 0	.....
Finest Homoeopathic Cocoa	.....	1 0	.....

This is the most pleasant and nutritious preparation of Cocoa.

For the convenience of our numerous customers, we retail the finest West India and Refined Sugars at market prices.

All goods delivered by our own vans, free of charge, within eight miles of London. Parcels of Tea and Coffee, of the value of Two Pounds sterling, are sent, carriage free, to any part of England.

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First—From the frequency and extent of his purchases; and

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